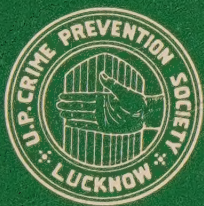


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CRIME PREVENTION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

By

DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

Prevention *versus* Treatment in the Formative years

The scope of social defence has been much widened and intensified in recent years as the result of the impact of social sciences on the problems of man's physical, mental and social inadequacy and disorganisation of all kinds that often lead to crime. On the whole there is an emphasis in the social defence programmes of advanced countries towards prevention rather than care and treatment, and towards mitigation or abolition of pre-conditions of personal disorganisation and delinquency rather than reformation and rehabilitation as social deviations arise. These programmes are found linked with one another. This not only makes the problem of delinquency very largely educational, but also demands that the programmes should begin in the formative years of childhood and adolescence.

Protection and Care of Children and Adolescents

In an undeveloped economy children are drafted from their homes to work in the fields, factories, shops and workshops or start on their own as casual labourers, pedlars, hawkers and domestic servants much earlier than in advanced industrial countries. Personal inadequacies and social maladjust-

ments, and hence phases of pre-delinquency behaviour are accordingly met with on a much larger scale in India especially in our small and big towns, than in many advanced countries. Evidently social diagnosis and investigation as well as the policy for checking delinquency ought to begin here at the child and adolescent stages. All measures and policies relating to minors in India should be covered by special legislation based on the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child at Geneva in 1948.

Among other programmes the State should make provision for

(a) Free and compulsory education of children ;

(b) Protection of child labour in agriculture, in organised and unorganised industries and in shops, households and establishments such as hotels and restaurants ;

(c) Organisation of recreation and sport facilities through children's playgrounds, young person's clubs, film, radio, books and other leisure activities ;

(d) Control and supervision of films that may contain harmful teachings or set undesirable examples to children or adolescents, or abase the moral values of human beings ;

(e) Demolition of slums in both villages and cities so as to avoid harmful physical and moral consequences of over-crowding and squalor ;

(f) Agrarian and rural planning so as to prevent the continuous drift of the rural working class to cities and towns ;

(g) Fixation of the age of fourteen years below which a minor should not be considered as capable of incurring liability for the purposes of criminal law, following the internationally accepted standard in this regard. This also would involve the legal liability of the parent in cases of neglect, harsh or unsympathetic treatment of the minor.

Truancy from Schools

While generally recognizing the role of education in the prevention of delinquency, it is hardly realised in the country what urgent and stupendous character the problem of juvenile truancy from schools and vagrancy has assumed in connection with the present programme of compulsory education in our cities and towns. A field survey was conducted by the U. P. State Branch of the Indian Conference of Social Work under my supervision on truancy and vagrancy in the Basic Primary Schools of the city of Lucknow. Truancy and vagrancy which are phases of pre-delinquency have here assumed serious dimensions. The number of truants from eight schools in the Ganeshganj ward of Lucknow City is shown below :—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Name of School	No. of students on rolls	No. of students not attending the school	No. of students attending the school	No. of truants who escape from the school	% of truants on the basis of figures as in Col. 4.
Marwari Gali	135	21	114	18	15.79
Mahmood Ali	254	73	181	10	5.52
Lalbagh	80	12	68	4	5.88
Machli Mohal	131	15	116	16	13.80
Gupta Park	321	61	260	3	1.15
Qaiserbagh Mandi	62	14	48	14	29.16
Ghasiyari Mandi	248	39	209	17	8.13
Purana Ganeshganj	177	25	152	3	1.97

Social Factors in Truancy

No doubt defective school organization with a large number of classes than there are teachers directly encourages truancy. In some schools students are left to shift for themselves as one teacher cannot naturally handle two or more classes at a time. It is also significant that the incidence of

truancy is heavier in schools situated in areas of poor income groups where children are economic assets at a rather early age. The highest percentage of truancy is found in Qaiserbagh Mandi School, viz about 30% of the total number of students on the roll. The School is placed in the heart of the market, and the children obviously succumb to the lure of excitement out-

side instead of attending dull and drab lesson of the class-room. The parents also would prefer them to desert the schools in order to do odd jobs for them in the vegetable market. If the children merely confine their activities to helping their parents in the sale of fruits and vegetables, the situation would not have been so serious; but largely they take to gambling and to marble playing with stakes, eluding both parents and teachers. Thus a tremendous wastage is going on before the very eyes of the Municipality, apart from the maturation of a delinquency situation. Three schools out of eight show a truancy rate as high as 14 to 30%. Broken or disharmonious homes also play a significant role in the causation of waywardness. About 61% of the parents show unsatisfactory and/or disharmonious parental relations.

We launched a programme of action research with a view to fight truancy. Wherever we could establish rapport with the parents, neighbours and teachers, the truancy rate could be appreciably reduced. The homes of the truants were visited a number of times, and teachers apprised of their social responsibility with the result that rehabilitation was successful from 47 to 100%.

Compulsory Education Ineffective without Social Defence

The result of this survey and experience of the action research project make it absolutely clear that the compulsory schooling system is not successful and that there is tremendous waste of public money. The Municipal educational programme ought to be supplemented by an organised permanent service of School Social Workers in each city, whose task should be to deal with truants and restore them to their class rooms. A comprehensive Vagrancy Act or a Truancy Act for

children and adolescents is also overdue. Near the dust-bins or secluded corners of streets and lanes juvenile truants evolve gang attachments which ultimately establish them in their delinquent careers.

The educational front breaks down if there is no advance in the home and social fronts. The social defence viewpoint is an integrated viewpoint. Piecemeal approaches and methods in any sector of social life discredit all planning. To become interested in the schooling of a child, and not at the same time be concerned about his home and family, his delinquent companions and the atmosphere and climate of his school is to make of compulsory education a doctrinaire, unrealistic programme, and of the school-going child an isolated abstraction which modern criminology rejects. The sooner the public, the Municipality and the Government realise the necessity of an integrated approach, the better it is for the programme of compulsory education and for our children who should not grow into pilferers, pick-pockets and gamblers but into useful and worthy citizens of the nation.

Homes for Juvenile, Truants and Delinquents

In all Indian cities and towns fifteen to thirty percent of the boys of Municipal Primary schools may be estimated to become truants and join the *de-classe* waifs and strays recruited from the various slum areas and form street-corner gangs which constitute the nurseries of juvenile social deviation and crime. Many of them are intractable and will not yield to proper social counselling and advice on the basis of collaboration of the school, home and the technical social work personnel. For juvenile truants and vagrants, who because of their aggressive or anti-social behaviour need to acquire orderly

habits and to benefit from the many experiences of group living, Schools and Hostels should be set up. These should preferably be of the "cottage" type, so that not more than a dozen inmates may be accommodated in any one 'cottage' home, and should be situated in suburban zones, so that the inmates can easily adjust themselves to rural occupations and ways of living. A large variety of rural arts and handicrafts should provide educational opportunities, while sports, co-operatives, dramas, plays and song recitals would aid the process of rehabilitation.

Such homes for juvenile truants and vagrants should be different from Homes for Juvenile delinquents to which the juveniles may be committed after trial. Here the various types of Juvenile delinquents should be grouped in accordance with the scientific judgment of the technical experts. Such homes should have ample vocational and recreational opportunities, so that the juvenile's adaptation may be facilitated. In the process of re-education and re-socialization great attention should be paid to the development of the personality of the juvenile to the utmost. The objectives should be to correct his physical, mental and social inadequacy in a wholesome environment offering ample opportunities of constructive activities. Contacts with employment agency and with the juvenile family should be maintained so as to facilitate social acceptance as quickly as possible.

Child Guidance Clinics

In India we need specialized institutions to which psychopathic, mentally deficient or physically handicapped offenders may be committed. There are problem children in all our cities and towns, but we have no Child Guidance Clinics. Every important

town should have a Child Guidance-Clinic for offering facilities of counselling and guidance for the treatment of problem children and truants from schools. The Clinic would be manned by social workers and would arrange for the treatment of difficult and abnormal children itself or through hospitals and clinics on behalf of their guardians. Behavioural difficulties of children who are habitual truants, liars and pilferers, who are socially and psychologically inadequate, retarded, or frustrated may be handled by experts in the Clinics. The Clinic should establish contacts with the schools, which the children are attending, and counsel and guide the teaching staff for helping in their re-adjustment.

Homes for Rescued Girls

The treatment of the juvenile girl offenders demands special and suitable measures. Every important town should have a certified School and Hostel for girls upto the age of twelve rescued from brothels and other dubious establishments. Training and re-habilitation programmes should be introduced in a hospitable atmosphere with ample recreational opportunities, especially music and dance in the community setting. Contacts should also be made with the Girls' Schools of the city for their placement.

Need of State and Central Boards of Welfare and Guidance of Minors

For integrating and co-ordinating all State and private action on behalf of children and adolescents every State should set up a Board of Welfare and Guidance for Children and Adolescents; and there should also be a Central Board at Delhi.

(a) Its members should comprise experts on problems of childhood from various aspects.

(b) It should have a social work division to give technical guidance to institutions for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, and to organise a central card index system for juvenile truants, vagrants and delinquents,

(c) It should have a health division to carry out programmes of family-planning, home-visiting and sanitation vaccination and inoculation, with experts qualified to deal with the diverse physical and mental handicaps of minors.

(d) It should have an educational division to establish an intimate liaison with the schools and homes from which juvenile truants and vagrants come and secure special training and guidance for problem children.

(e) It should have an apprenticeship and employment division to secure regular employment of young offenders

and supervise the conditions of employments of young persons generally so as to prevent non-observance of the present Factories Act and its regulations.

The entire educational outlook and practice in the country need to be changed in order that the basic task of the State to watch over the whole development of the personality of juvenile truants, vagrants and offenders can be adequately undertaken. They require special protection and treatment, through the State setting up and maintaining special institutions and services for their re-education, re-socialisation and rehabilitation as individuals, as members of the family group and as citizens of the nation. No modern country, and still less one which has accepted the democratic ideal of the Social Welfare State, should delay in reorienting its educational policy and programme in respect of the needs of juvenile offenders.

THE LAW AND THE CRIMINAL

By

P. N. SAPRU.

We in our country are endeavouring to build up a social democratic state which will give to our citizens equality of opportunity to achieve their mental, moral and economic development. Obviously, they cannot make the best use of their lives in a society where chaotic conditions exist or which have no organised legal systems to enforce rights, obligations and duties upon their members.

For thousands of years we have lived upon this planet and our doing so has been possible only because, through trial and error, we have learnt that for human progress it is essential for societies and individuals to observe certain rules of conduct, a disobedience of which involves consequences for the person or persons infringing them. I do not think I am called upon to discuss the notions connected with the term "Law" nor is it necessary for me to dilate upon the history of legal institutions. Demarcation between rules that should be regarded as purely moral or purely legal, is a complicated business. All ethical rules are not necessarily legal rules. They are not enforceable in courts of law and they carry no penalty if they are disobeyed. The function of law is to enforce by legal processes, those rules without which it would be impossible for persons living in organised societies to exist. In this sense the well-being of the community is the objective of all law. All these rules are not of universal validity. They change with the social and economic pattern of the State. Despite the many attacks to which the Benthamite theory has been subjected, I think it is, broadly speaking, true to say that law seeks to achieve the maximum good of the

maximum number of people living under a government in a defined territory.

Many jurists have made a right distinction between civil law and criminal law. The former concerns itself with the protection of the rights of the individual. It seeks to provide procedures for the redress of the wrongs committed against him by means of compensation or restitution. The case is different with the latter for here the object is the punishment of the wrong doer. The offence is treated not so much as an injury done to a particular person as a matter in which the community is vitally interested.

Regarded in this sense crime is something which is prohibited and punishable by the Law of the Land. "The criminal law," wrote Sir James Fitzjames Stevens in his 'History of English Criminal Law,' "proceeds upon the principle that it is morally right to hate criminals and it confirms and justifies that sentiment by inflicting upon criminals punishments which express it".

Few would like the word "hate" when used with reference to any body of persons in the year 1958. According to accepted notions the object of punishment is to deter the offender or others like him from committing similar offences. The aim of criminal justice is to punish offenders so that citizens may be able to live in security. In evolving satisfactory systems of punishment its (1) deterrent, (2) preventive, (3) reformative, and (4) retributive aspects have to be kept prominently in mind. Courts of justice exist to punish offenders so that they and

others like them might be deterred from committing similar offences in future. In the social interest wrong doers have to be made to fear the law of the land. Crime cannot, however, be prevented by merely providing deterrent punishments. The offender who has committed a wrong has no doubt to be punished but in determining the nature of the punishment to which he should be subjected a number of factors have to be taken into consideration.

In particular, in awarding a sentence the judge has to relate it to the needs of the particular case before him. Increasingly with the advance of psychological knowledge it is becoming clear that the environmental conditions in which an individual has functioned throughout his life, the tensions and the repressions to which he has been subjected, act as a compelling force for him to behave in many cases in a criminal way. Psychology and Psychiatry are, however, sciences which are as yet in an embryonic stage of development. Society's paramount need is to protect law abiding citizens from the activities of evil doers for if crime were left unchecked, the community would go to pieces and progress would become impossible. The theory of diminished responsibility resulting from the reactions of psychological and environmental conditions and tensions upon an individual cannot be carried too far in determining the quantum of guilt or punishment in individual cases. In awarding punishment a good judge no doubt takes into consideration any circumstances that mitigate the seriousness of the offence. It is, however, possible to carry this search for the correct measure of responsibility too far. The criminal, whatever our reading of his psychological and pathological make-up might be, must not be made to feel that society is prepared to

condone, without stern disapproval, what he has done. Equally he must not be punished in a manner and to the extent that he loses heart in making any effort to improve himself. In simple language, we have to avoid in our administration of justice making criminals either look upon themselves as martyrs who succumbed to evil because they had no alternative or as outcasts who are to have hereafter no place in society, whatever the effort that they might make to reform themselves. Obviously it would be wrong for those who administer the law to treat all criminals alike. A distinction has to be made between hardened criminal and one who has either just started on the road to crime or is showing tendencies towards it. To lump all criminals together and treat them not as individuals calling for special attention but as types who constitute a menace to society and must be treated as such would obviously be a mistake. Far the most difficult task which faces a judge after he has come to the conclusion that a person is guilty, is the question of the proper sentence to be awarded to him. In serious cases in Britain and certain other democratic countries the jury is the judge of the facts. The judge's task is, on the finding that the man is guilty, to award a proper sentence. Here in our country the judge has in most cases no jury to assist him. Generally he is over-worked and rarely is it possible for him to get through the evidence laid before him an insight into the working of the mind of the criminal. Sentences in these circumstances tend to be governed by mechanical rules which take little account of individual differences. I do not say this by way of a criticism of the highly competent men who administer criminal justice in our state. I am merely drawing attention to something which is inevitable under our existing judicial set-up.

Our penal law was enacted for us in the fifties of the last century. It was a monumental piece of legislation but after all this lapse of timesome changes in it are both necessary and desirable. The maximum punishments by our Penal Code prescribed for some offences are too heavy. In others a shift of emphasis in regard to the light in which the offence should be regarded by Presiding Officers of Courts, is necessary. We are all, for example, agreed that theft, robbery and dacoity constitute heinous offences. But our horror of crimes which affect the health, vitality and integrity of the daily life of millions of people is not perhaps equally great. We have nothing but unequivocal condemnation for those, who may have been even unjustifiably the victims of robbery or dacoity charges, but we are prepared to accept as pillars of our society men whom we know or have good reason to believe to be corrupt. Against the businessman or the trader who indulges in black-marketing and profiteering or who adulterates articles of human consumption our public disapproval is not backed by organised social ostracism. Actually if a corrupt officer or businessman is prepared to pay conscience money in the shape of some charity or other from the monies illegally acquired by him, we are inclined to overlook his faults. Indeed he can hope to become in course of time even a pillar of our society. No distinction from a moral point of view can be made between a dacoit and a robber and a profiteer or black-marketer. We need in this matter to improve the moral tone of our community. We need to emphasise not only certain private virtues which make a man likeable in his family circle but also and much more importantly those public virtues which make him a good citizen. Morality does not consist in merely observing certain rules prohibi-

ting us from doing certain things which society dislikes. It consists in a more fundamental sense, in positive attitudes towards those qualities which make for our common welfare as social beings.

The fight against crime will be greatly assisted if we could build up a social order which would provide our men and women with full opportunity to make a good use of their lives. Human personality cannot flower in an atmosphere of poverty, dirt and squalor. One can hardly describe poverty as a crime. And yet it strikes me that at the root of many crimes is poverty. It is, therefore, the worst crime for it leads to so many other crimes. The rich man can get away with many of the things for which our poverty-stricken people have to suffer. For the rich man the temptation to rob or steal other peoples' goods takes a different form. In his case crime takes the form of exploitation of others, of profiteering or blackmarketing. His wealth enables him to continue to function in society as a virtuous person for it is easier for him to practise hypocrisy than for a poor man. This is something which we must endeavour to eradicate. Opinions against crimes which have an appeal for rich men, should be as strong as that we reserve for crimes to which our poorer classes fall a victim.

Whatever the effort that we might make to improve our criminal law shall fail in our effort to effectively prevent crimes unless we are able to evolve a social order which will provide the wherewithall to each individual to lead a life free from economic anxiety and worry. Spiritual values can have little meaning for a society of starving men and women. Far the most important influence which shapes an individual's life is the material economic

environment in which he has to function. The life of the spirit and the life of matter are inter-connected; one is not possible without the other. By merely catalogueing or classifying crimes and providing suitable punishment for them, society cannot be enabled to organise properly its social defence.

Far be it for me to suggest that in societies with high standards of living crimes do not occur. We know that even in the highly industrialised countries of Europe and America there is much vice. Further, it is a mistake to imagine that in every case the criminal is a person with a twisted personality for which the many pathological or psychological factors which went to determine his early life, are responsible. For let it be remembered that all crime cannot be accounted for in terms of psychology or physiology. Assuming that crime is a disease and in some cases it certainly is, psychological or psychiatric treatment of it is a very difficult process. Recent advances in the psychology of crimes and the environmental conditions which bring it about have more a preventive than curative value. No Psychologist or Psychiatrist can change the environment in which the criminal will have, whether he likes it or not, to function after he has been declared to be cured. In its ultimate analysis, the problem of crime and of criminal law is bound up with the whole question of social reconstruction in its largest and most comprehensive sense.

Much has been accomplished in the last hundred years or so in the field of criminal reform. Our laws have become more humane; our treatment of prisoners and their classification is more scientific; our prisons are gradually being turned into reformatories; our public has a clearer understanding of the cause and cure of crime. Let us

experiment with everything which in our judgment is calculated to reform the prisoner and endow him with moral values. But let us in doing so not forget that the law abiding citizen is entitled to security and freedom from the attentions of criminals, diseased or otherwise. It would be impolitic on our part by adopting a too doctrinaire approach towards the problem of crime to risk the common man's welfare. III conceived measures calculated to diminish the sense of personal responsibility for crimes committed by individuals can do our social order no good.

This brings me to the question of the death sentence. In recent years it has assumed much importance. The death sentence has been the subject matter of discussion in our parliament and in the British Parliament. Our neighbouring State of Ceylon abolished it two years back as an experimental measure. The position was to be reviewed by the Ceylon legislature after three years of the abolition. Actually it is to be done earlier now because it is apprehended that as a result of abolition the number of murders has actually increased. Thus the question of its abolition is a complicated one. Nevertheless, the continuance of the death sentence raises ethical issues of a most fundamental character which legislators and social thinkers cannot ignore. I do not wish to dogmatise one way or the other on this delicate matter but I would earnestly suggest that the whole question requires careful consideration at the hands of a competent and high-powered commission or committee of Jurists, Sociologists and Administrators. I will not conceal from you that my emotional reactions are against it and I occasionally feel that whatever be the experience of other countries, conditions are some what different in our country. I recognise, however, that the problem is one bristling with difficulties and that it is just not possible for

us to take a hasty step in this matter. I may point out that in Britain the law of murder has been modified by making a distinction between capital murder and murder. The death penalty is now reserved for only capital murder. In our country such a distinction is unnecessary as courts have power to award if they so choose the lesser sentence. Be that as it may, I feel that a committee which would investigate this question impartially would be of much value not only to penal reformers but also to the Judiciary and the public generally.

A complaint which one frequently hears, is that there are far too many acquittals in our courts. I think that the responsibility for the failure of many prosecution cases does not rest with our courts of law. I am inclined to feel that our standards of crime investigation are not at all satisfactory. On insufficient or perjured evidence it is quite impossible for courts to register convictions. In order that crime might not go unpunished, it is essential to improve the quality of our police force and its detective sections. It is further necessary to make the attitude of our people towards the police force more co-operative. The police on its part should regard itself as friends of the people. Co-operation of the people with the police in the prevention and investigation of crimes is very much to be desired. The average man today is apt to look upon the police as an instrument of that *zulm* to which he has submitted through the ages.

A change in this attitude and that of the public generally towards the police force cannot be brought about without effective co-operation on the part of the people belonging to all

shades of opinion. You will no doubt agree that it is in the interest of our criminal administration that both the outlook of the police and public should undergo a change. This no legislation can effect. This is the work which requires an assiduous education of the public mind on correct lines.

I have not touched upon the question of jail reforms for I take that to be outside the scope of this section. I would like, however, to say that while all efforts to improve the conditions of our jails should be welcomed, our efforts should be to see that the man who once goes to jail, does not seek it again. The real problem for a prisoner begins after he has served his sentence of imprisonment. It is here that society must help the criminal who is trying to improve himself to re-start life on an honest basis.

I have made a few desultory remarks on the problems with which we are immediately concerned.

One of the great defects in our legal system is the enormous delays that take place in the disposal of cases. A person accused of an offence is entitled to have the question of guilt determined finally without avoidable delay. No doubt many changes in our procedural laws are necessary. Basically, however, I think our legal system which places the responsibility of establishing the guilt of the accused upon the prosecution and which insists that no man shall be punished unheard, is sound. The work of the serious reformer is not to indulge in heroics and attitudes; it is to build a better world. Let us therefore, work earnestly for an improvement of our criminal law and procedure.

THE ROLE OF THE MAGISTRACY IN THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

By

DR. C. P. TANDON

One can have a direct acquaintance with a Jail in many ways, for instance, an innocent man may be held up and sent there just on suspicion; another may be there as an undertrial for some good time; as a convict is yet another class. Besides these, one may visit a jail to interview a friend or a relation. He may go as a visitor or as an inspecting authority. The officials of the Jail and their relatives form yet another category of those who have a direct or vicarious contact with the Jail. Some of these are quite honourable positions to be in, and provide a direct touch with the Jail without any stigma attached to it. Speaking of the word stigma reminds me of that hon'ble class of prisoners who take a pride in being called prisoners. They have gained a status in their own community and settings because of their repeated sojourn in jails. This class of repeaters can be divided into two categories—one consists of those who need no certificates of having gone to the Jail repeatedly because their status, reputation and whole business of going about speaks so loudly that they are their own certificates. The other category is of those who have to obtain certificates for having repeatedly gone to a jail. I leave this topic at that, because my intention was merely to create an interest about Jail-going so that it is not regarded as something abominable or dishonourable which the average citizen is inclined to think in the first instance.

One may have been to jail or one may have not; but no one can deny that the very population of the jail is there because of you. There can be no better vantage point for a demonstration of the inter-dependence of law and enforcement than this. Often the relationship between the Magistracy and the Jail Officers or in other words between the judiciary and jails is lost sight of. No one can be inside the jail unless the Magistracy ordained it so, be it as an undertrial or as a convict. Thus the problem of Jail officers is to handle and tackle the kind and quantity of population that may be placed in their charge by the magistrate which may be good or bad but more often the bad. Yet the jails have earned varying degrees of notoriety or fame from time to time because of the doings of that population in enrolling whom they had no hand or say. It will, therefore, be helpful for us to ponder a little over the relationship between the court and the correctional system.

Whatever may have been the policy and aim or object of having a jail in the past, one thing is certain that to-day we profess that our aim of treating the offenders or our aim of keeping the prisoners in the jail is to make them better and more useful rehabilitated citizens of the country. All our programmes, newer activities and schemes are with that object. This process of reformation of the criminal is a time consuming process because it requires him to unlearn many

a bad habit of work, thought and life and to learn new ways of knowing, perceiving, thinking, acting and behaving. The jail officers do not possess any magic wand by which they could re-arrange the emotional thinking and living of the man in their charge. Nor can they convert a moral imbecile, feeble minded or a dullard into a normal, intelligent and sharp witted genius. They can at best give him a knowledge of 3 Rs., drilling him in healthy habits of life, living and work, create interest in educational, cultural, athletic and recreational activities, give him training in some art, profession or trade and above all give him an opportunity to practice and live healthily, happily and sociably amongst groups of men. Even to carry out one-tenth of this, a jail officer must have enough time with the man in his charge. But the very large number of prisoners sent to jails is for short sentences only. To be very specific that sentence is less than a year. A sentence of a year means that the prisoner would be released in 8 to 9 months if he is to do the whole of the sentence and only 3 months or so if he gets out on Probation. Thus the period that shall be available for any programme of education, training and reformation in the jail will on an average be only about $4\frac{1}{2}$ months. Add to it the further handicaps that the men handled are not very willing participants in the training programme. That is why the correctional officers cry hoarse against the levy of short sentences by the courts.

Let us now see the other side of the picture of a short sentence. For the sake of illustration let us take the ill-famed sections 109 and 110. The victims under these sections are those who have the greatest grouse against the police and against the magistracy

for having been treated unjustly. If I am permitted to repeat, what they say, here it is—they are sore about the police on the ground that the case was a faked one for which the evidence was concocted, the witnesses tutored and purchased. As regards the magistrates they believe that a magistrate does not go against the police and, therefore, the judgements are not just but are one-sided, and biased.

It has been the opinion of several experts in the field that neither of the two charges are wholly incorrect. From the side of the police the explanation is given that under the existing canons of the law of evidence, not a single case can be prosecuted successfully but for the padding. What a police officer does not vouchsafe about is the dangerous nature and undesirable acts and behaviours of the man whom he challans under sections 109 & 110. This is no doubt the correct picture. So also magistracy which combines in itself the difficult task of coordinating the judiciary and the executive is faced with the real problem of making the east and the west meet.

The problem is difficult. Many a time that solution is found by appealing the police by awarding a conviction but, at the same time not denying all justice by awarding only a nominal or short sentence. This sincerity to both logically means sincerity to none and a headache to a prison officer. This convict is always in a hostile mood against the authority, re-acting and rebelling against the injustice that has been meted out to him. He is never in a frame of mind that is fit for any work of reformation, training or rehabilitation. Thus for all the time that he is in the jail he is the honoured guest of the state living at the cost of the tax-payer without

contributing anything towards his cost. I make bold to say that it is not any deficiency in the system of jails that is responsible for this sad and deplorable behaviour of these men. It has been our experience at the Sampurnanand Open Camp that the largest number of escapes, the low wage earners and the malingerers have been from this category of 109 and 110. At the open camp the atmosphere is very akin to the world outside. The amount of freedom available to a convict is unconceivable. He gets better food, clothing and recreation. Whatever he does he gets adequate payment for that at rates at par with those of the outside labour. But as I remarked earlier this man has no will, no motivation to go straight for he is all the time smarting under the pain of what he terms the unjust judgement because of which he is in the Jail. This in short is the picture and fate of a short sentence. If the magistracy gave up award of small sentence to this man and instead gave the maximum sentence that law permitted, it would have done a good cause to :

1. the police;
2. the Society;
3. the correctional officer.

The Role of the Magistrate.

I have already mentioned that no person can be sent to a Jail without passing through a court or a magistrate. Thus the court, and the magistrate form a great sifting mechanism which determines the human material that would reach a correctional institution. Whether this institution will be required to do an impossible task or one within the scope of its equipment and facilities is, in the first instance, determined by the action and judgement of this Magistrate. A Jail officer has no

control or say in the matter. There is no systematic or concerted effort to keep fully informed or associate the magistracy and the judiciary with the organisation and working of the treatment programmes inside the Jails. It would, therefore, be worthwhile examining a little more closely how this sifting mechanism operates.

When a man is arrested on a charge of crime or suspicion thereof he must be brought before a magistrate who alone can issue a warrant of arrest and detention. The facts at this stage put up before a magistrate are seldom very exhaustive, convincing or adequate. It is more in the administrative and executive functioning that a decision is taken. In all those cases where the accused or the suspect refutes the allegations of the police a decision is difficult to be made that could be weighed on the scales of justice. Such a situation creates a feeling of strong resentment in the accused against the magistrate and the authority in general. He enters the jail as a helpless individual who is unable to reconcile to this biased turning of the scales against him for no fault of his. He is cut off from the members of his family. He is snatched away from his business or profession. He is removed far away from his friends and associates. He is to give up his choice even in simple matters like food; bedding, clothing, sanitation and even freedom to carry out some of the very essentials of daily life. For being forced to this world of physical torture and mental torment he is more inclined to blame the magistrate who gave, in his opinion, more credence and weight to the words of the police than were due.

The first few days of a prisoner in the Jail are the moments of great agony and pain. His mental, moral, physical and social balance is shattered to pieces. There is hardly any one

whom he can look to as his own. There is no one in whom he can confide his secrets or share the stress and strain of the wild conflict raging in his heart and mind. In such a set up the full load of these worries and anxieties has to be carried all by himself alone. His absence from the world outside seriously affects and delays the chances of his release on bail. As days go by the prisoner tries to adjust himself or gets adjusted somehow or the other. This adjustment is limited to the physical aspects of the situation in the main. There is a rule that no one can be detained for more than 10 days unless he is put up again before magistrate, who alone is empowered to grant a further period of remand. With all the optimism at his command the man looks to his presentation before the magistrate. He has been getting ready to put up his case and point of view once again before the magistrate. He has got over the first shock and in his cooler moments is now trying to face the situation more bravely. His only hope and cure is the independent and just treatment that he expects at the hands of the magistrate. He looks to the occasion of being produced before the magistrate with great expectations and hope. But what happens on this crucial day in the majority of cases? The man is never put up before the magistrate. In many cases remands are repeatedly given even without calling the culprit to the court and giving him a hearing. This unfortunate story is repeated week after week and the jails present the sad plight of thousands of such cases.

Both in the name of justice and in the name of humanity the man must be put up before the magistrate. He will never be sorry for being human by granting that extra minute which it may require to see and hear every culprit whose further remand he has anctioned. He will not merely be

giving the right that is his due but will be earning the goodwill and grace and confidence of the man in what he does.

The maximum and minimum sentence.

How much sentence to award is another problem that faces the court. The Indian Penal Code prescribes the maximum and the minimum sentence for an offence. The records of the jail are full of the instances which show that no two judges have same yard stick to measure offences. The first thing that a prisoner discovers inside the jail is to find living proofs of what he had discovered outside that the judges differ widely in the exercise of their sentence functioning. A crime commission in America reported that "The wide diversity of sentences imposed on offenders committed to state prisons technically guilty of the same offense is apparent. For attempted burglary third degree, the sentences vary from 15 months to five years, for burglary third degree, from two to ten years and sentences for robbery first degree vary from seven and a half years to natural life. There is no uniformity in the sentences imposed for any of the offences to which these offenders pleaded guilty or were sentenced after trial and conviction". In another kind of study it was found for instance that the judges differed in using the various methods of penalty available to them. Thus for instance in one of the reports on the percentage of each kind of sentence imposed by judges of the Essex Country Court it was found that cases of imprisonment ranged from 33.6 percent to 57.5 percent, probation from 19.5% to 32.4%, fines from 1.6% to 3.1% and so on.

It is an open secret that these differences in sentencing practices are well recognized by lawyers who practice

in the criminal courts. They distinguish between tough and lenient judges. They also know that judges may be more severe in one type of case than in another. A court may deal more leniently in one than in the other type of situations. It has been said that part of the stock in trade of a good criminal lawyer is his knowledge of the predilection of particular judges with respect to sentences. As long as judges must exercise discretion and as long as scientific methods of determining the amount of sentence do not exist, judicial disparities in sentences are inevitable and unavoidable. The sentence imposed in an individual case will depend upon the personality, training, and penal philosophy of the individual judge and judges, like any other people.

This disparity in judicial sentence for similar type of offences is one of the great unsolved problems of the relationship between courts and the correctional system. Many different solutions have been suggested from time to time but there is none which may be entirely satisfactory. One of the aims of introducing appellate courts is to correct indiscretions or ill-judgments of a lower court but that hardly offers any solution. It is a problem that causes a lot of complications, hardships and frustrations to the man and would be well worth a deeper consideration by the Magistrate.

One of the modern day solutions to this problem advocated in some of the countries is the proposed system of awarding a maximum sentence permissible by the law. That would certainly remove any chance of disparity in some cases. It will again be very true to the dictum that the commission of crime as well as abetment to it stand equally to punish-

ment in the eyes of law. It will also give adequate time to the correctional officers to reform the offender and fit him for rehabilitation. One may raise an objection to it that awarding maximum sentence would be very unjust to the accused who would otherwise have received a much lesser sentence. My answer to it is that under the present day procedures of release as well as earning remissions every convict has a chance to earn his release much before the completion of the full term of sentence. Take for instance a prisoner who is eligible for release under the Probation Act. So soon as he has done 1/3rd of his sentence including remission, which therefore approximately means only 1/4th of the sentence, he is due for release on probation. Another prisoner who has not been released on probation shall be considered for release as soon as he has done half his sentence in the Jail. Whatever be the sentence, these release procedures are in force today, but these have operated on the man who has been all the time smarting under the pain of unequal sentence. Because of this non-cooperative attitude of the convict the correctional officer is denied enough time and proper frame of mind of the offender to really reform or retrain him. Consequently he grudgingly allows the above release procedures to operate. The system of maximum sentence would take away both these stings.

Some short-comings of the short sentencing process.

There is one other aspect of the sentencing process that I would like to draw your special reference to. This pertains to the fact that a sentence is more often inadequate or inappropriate because the judge does not have before him accurate or total facts concerning the past, personality, character and background of the person he has

found guilty in the eyes of the law measured on the scales of justice in terms of the law of evidence. The court is never concerned with what the future holds for the man or even the settings of the man in the present. The assets and liabilities of the person in terms of future rehabilitation are not the concern of the judge. It is only in respect of the juvenile offenders where the First Offenders' Probation Act is being considered, where facilities do exist and we are trying to make some use of the Probation system that an investigation of the sociological settings of the child are seen. This system requires that as soon as a Judge has found any one below the age of 24 guilty of the offence, he could release him on probation instead of sending him to Jail. While on probation the probationer shall have to live upto the expectations and conditions imposed by the court and that shall be so under the charge of his surity and the direct periodical reports of the probation officer to the court. To judge whether the case is fit to be handled through probation system, the court has at his disposal the services of the Probation Officer, a paid Government servant, fully qualified and trained in his profession, to carry out sociological and psychological investigations in the case and collect relevant data that point to the future prospects and chances of the person if he is released on probation.

Thus it will be seen that the First Offenders Probation Act provides a

beginning for improving the sentencing process but it is sad to reflect that we have the First Offenders Probation Act operating only in 17 out of the 52 districts. At the moment we are handling about 1600 probationers under the system. Failures with this form of treatment have not been even 10% so far. This shows possibly that too cautious a use has been made of the system or in other words adequate use or trial has not been given to it. The Chief Minister of U. P. who is not only interested in the system but is the originator of the new and novel scheme of Intensive Probation which was introduced at Kanpur on October 2, 1954 saw to the great potentiality of this new system and it was his effort and tactful handling that brought the police, magistracy and the probation together to launch that laudable scheme. Within one year the case-load of 93 exceeded 500 and to day in Kanpur alone we have 672 cases being handled through the First Offenders Release on Probation Act and the results of success have been as helpful and encouraging as reported earlier. It is on the solid ground of success gained with the Intensive Probation Scheme at Kanpur that we have extended it to one more district namely Meerut. The scheme not only has a great potentiality of doing good to the State and the Society but one which is of the very utmost importance for providing an effective social defence.

TRUANCY AND BASIC PRIMARY EDUCATION

**A Social Action Research Project in one of the Central Sectors
of the city of Lucknow.**

by

SUSHIL CHANDRA

While dealing with hundreds of delinquents in an industrial city, it was observed as a result of careful analysis of case studies that there are certain phases through which an individual has already passed before he has been labelled as a delinquent and his behaviour declared as delinquent behaviour. These phases may be called the phases of pre-delinquency.

Much before the delinquent is brought to the court of Probation Magistrate (which should be substituted by the Juvenile Court) and is the subject of social action for the purposes of correction and rehabilitation, he has already a series of misdemeanours and petty delinquencies to his credit. The conclusion, therefore, is that a delinquent is a delinquent much before he is actually in the grips of the law.

The juvenile delinquent normally passes through two phases—Juvenile Vagrancy and Juvenile Truancy which are overlapping in character.

A vast field which needs the immediate attention of social workers, educationists, municipal authorities, the Government and the general public is the enormous state of truancy in the Basic Primary Schools.

A scheme for launching a social action research project and to undertake direct social work by tackling the

increasing problem of juvenile truancy and vagrancy in Basic Primary Schools in one of the Municipal Wards of Lucknow by employing a wholetime trained social worker was sanctioned by the Executive Committee of the Indian Conference of social work, U.P. State Branch on August 26, 1956. The field survey was for a period of six months only till the end of Feb. 1957.

Structure of Basic Primary Education in Lucknow.

Before taking up the results of the survey it would be meet and proper if we take into account the structure of the Basic Primary Education in the city of Lucknow. The system of Free Compulsory Education was introduced under the Compulsory Education Act of 1919. The Act was implemented by the Municipal Board, Lucknow, for the first time in the Wazirganj ward. In 1928 the scheme was extended to cover Chowk, Saadatganj Daulatganj, and Yahiaganj wards. In 1948 the programme of basic education for juveniles was enlarged to cover the remaining three wards of Hazratganj, Hasanganj and Ganeshganj. The scheme of Basic Primary Education under the Compulsory Education Act is now in force for nearly a decade in all the Municipal Wards of Lucknow. There are 100 Basic Primary Schools for Boys and 70 for Girls in all the eight Municipal wards of Lucknow. During the period of the survey there were 16,549 boys and 13,267 girls on the rolls of these schools during the academic

session of 1956-57. The total number of teachers including Head masters and Head mistresses was 456 for boys' schools and 324 for girls' schools. The teacher-pupil ratio comes to 1:36.3 for boys' schools and 1:40.9 for the girls' schools. The head masters are appointed in the scale of Rs. 45-1-50 E. B.-1-60; trained teachers Rs. 35-1-40 E. B.-1-50, and untrained teachers are employed on a fixed salary of Rs.30/- p.m. The D. A. is Rs. 25/- up to Rs. 50/- and Rs. 20/- for those who get a salary above Rs. 50/- p. m. There are 8 Attendance Officers for boys' schools and another 8 for girls' schools. The scale of pay of such officers is Rs. 75-5-120-E.B.-8-200. The total amount spent by the Municipal Board, Lucknow, on Basic Primary Education for boys was Rs. 5,057 7/- and for girls Rs. 4,81,793 during the year 1956-57. The average cost of Basic Primary Education per student comes to Rs. 30.49 for boys and Rs. 36.31 per annum for girls.

The Sample and Methodological Considerations.

The present pilot action survey to diminish truancy in the Basic Primary Schools of Lucknow was confined to 8 out of 18 Boys' schools in the Ganeshganj ward. The schools were selected after a general survey of all the 18 schools in this area. An exploratory survey revealed that the schools could be classified into two categories according to their location in the ward:—I. Schools which are situated in the purely residential area, and II. Schools in the vicinity of the crowded markets. As most of the schools are situated in the residential areas five schools were selected as units for intensive investigations. These schools are Marwari Gali School, Mahmood Ali School,

Lal Bagh School, Machli Mohal School and Purana Ganeshganj School. Three schools located in the midst of crowded markets were included in the survey, thus making a total of eight out of eighteen schools for the purpose of action research. These schools are Qaisar Bagh Mandi School, Ghasiyari Mandi School and Gupta Park School. The habitat of these schools show queer type of constructions such as *kachha* and *pucca* small buildings holding two classes in one undemarcated place. Two schools hold all the classes in the open air under the shady trees. One such school has also been included in the sample. The usual pattern in almost all the schools is to hold two or more classes simultaneously in one place.

After the preliminary survey and the sampling of the schools cordial and friendly relations were established with the education department of the Lucknow Municipal Board, the teachers and students of the eight selected schools without whose cooperation it would not have been possible to draw up a list of 85 truants for the purpose of social action research. On a careful scrutiny of the class registers, it was revealed that there are two categories of absentees among the students:—(A) those who are on rolls but never attend the schools and (B) Those who attend the school but slip out of the school on the slightest pretext or surreptitiously escape from the class after the roll call. In order to have a manageable size of case load for one social investigator the investigations were confined to the second category of absentees who have been treated as truants for the purposes of the present survey. These 85 cases belonging to the second category were the difficult cases and hence were taken on hand for follow up and rehabilitation.

The following table shows the number of truants from each of the 8 schools within the sample.—

S. No.	Name of school	No. of studentson Rolls	No. of students not attending the school	No. of students attending the schools	No. of Truants who escape from the school	% of Truants on the basis of figures as given in col. 5
1.	Marwari Gali	135	21	114	18	15.79
2.	Mahmood Ali	254	73	181	10	5.52
3.	Lal Bagh	80	12	68	4	5.88
4.	Machli Mohal	131	15	116	16	13.80
5.	Gupta Park	321	61	260	3	1.15
6.	Qaiserbagh Mandi	62	14	48	14	29.16
7.	Ghasiyari Mandi	248	39	209	17	8.13
8.	Purana Ganeshganj	177	25	152	3	1.97

The maximum percentage of truants was found in the Qaisarbagh Mandi School (29.16), Marwari Gali School (15.79) and the Machli Mohal School (13.80). The Qaisarbagh Mandi School has the lowest number of students on rolls (62) while the percentage of truants is 29.16. The reason for such a situation appears to be that this is predominantly a vegetable and fruit market area. The parents are mostly engaged in this business. The nature of the occupation is such that a child assists the parents in running the shop. The attraction and hustle and bustle of the market is much more attractive to the child than the dull and dreary atmosphere of the small class room in the school. The parents also do not evince much interest in the schooling of their children as they are an asset to them in their business pursuits. The Machli Mo-

hal School is located in a thatched hut where all classes are held under the same roof creating a state of confusion and chaos. A situation is created which is not very conducive to the child sticking on to the class. The highest number on rolls is in the Gupta Park School (321) Mahmood Ali School (254) and Ghasiyari Mandi (248) yet showing low percentages of truancy 1.15, 5.52 and 8.13 respectively. It is significant to note that schools in which children from the fixed income groups are drawn show a low percentage of truancy as against areas in which the children are an economic asset to their parents in the pursuit of their professions. Another important factor which accounts for the low percentage of truancy in the above three schools is the adequate number of teachers for the different classes.

The following table throws a considerable light on the above situation.

Schools with high percentage of Truancy :—

S. No.	Schools	No. of students attending the school	% of truants	No. of classes	No. of Teachers
1.	Qaiserbagh Mandi	48	29.16	5	2
2.	Marwari Gali	114	15.79	5	3
3.	Machli Mohal	116	13.80	5	3

Schools with low percentage of Truancy :—

S. No.	Schools	No. of students attending the school	% of truants	No. of classes	No. of teachers
1.	Gupta Park	260	1.15	5	8
2.	Purana Ganeshganj	152	1.97	5	5
3.	Mahmood Ali	181	5.52	5	5

Distribution of Truants according to Religion.

Out of the total of 85 truants on hand 49 or 57.65% are Hindus and 36 or 42.35% are muslims. Apparently the figures for Hindus are higher than those for the Muslims. The total number of Hindu boys on rolls in all the 8 schools is 1,030 while for Muslims it is 298. The percentage of truants based on total school population comes to 4.7 for Hindus and 12.0 for Muslims. It has also been observed in other studies that the percentage for Muslim vagrants, truants and delinquents is much more than that of the Hindus.

Caste Composition of the Truants.

The following table shows the caste composition of the truants :—

Caste	Number	Percentage
A. Hindus :—		
Upper Caste.		
Brahmin	2	2.35
Thakur	5	5.88
Kayasth	2	2.35
	—	—
	9	10.58
Intermediate Caste.		
Dhobi	4	4.70
Lodh	1	1.18
Kahar	2	2.35
Halwai	1	1.18
Nai	4	4.70
Gadaria	1	1.18
	—	—
	13	15.29

Lower Caste.

Sweeper	4	4.70
Khatik	14	16.47
Chamar	3	3.55
Dharkar	1	1.18
Kori	2	2.35
Tashi	2	2.35
Dhanuk	1	1.18
	<hr/> 27	<hr/> 31.78

B. Muslims:—

Shia	11	12.94
Sunni	25	29.41
	<hr/> 36	<hr/> 42.35

Truancy is more marked among the students drawn from the lower castes i. e. 31.78% while it is 10.58% for the upper castes. The intermediate castes contribute 15.29% while Muslims have the highest quota to contribute i.e. 42.35%. Among the Muslims the Sunnis comprise 29.41% while the Shias 12.94% of the total truant population.

Distribution of the Truants according to the School classes.

The table below gives the distribution of truants according to the class in which they study :—

Class.	No. of Truants	Percentage.
I	16	18.82
II	24	28.22
III	15	17.65
IV	18	21.77
V	12	14.14
Total	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 100

The above table indicates that the percentage of truants is highest (28.22)

in the II class and lowest (14.14) in V class.

Age Composition of the Truants.

The following table shows the distribution of truants according to their ages :—

Age	No.	Percentage.
6-8 years	14	16.47
8-10 years	21	24.90
10-12 years	25	29.41
12-14 years	19	22.35
14 years & Above	6	6.87
Total	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 100

It is evident from the above table that the truants are distributed about the mid-value i.e. 11 years. The age group 10-12 years contributes the maximum number of truants i.e. 25 or 29.41% next comes the group 8-10 years of age having 21 or 24.90% followed by the age group 12-14 years with 19 or 22.35% of the truants. With the rise in age from 6 to 12 years the tendency is towards greater truancy while from 12 to 14 years and above truancy shows a downward trend. It appears that the students in the age group of 6-8 years are the new entrants to the school. They are afraid of playing truant. In the course of time and as a result of contact with truants in the same class or in the senior classes the element of fear is greatly eliminated and the recruits join the rank of the truants. The age group from 8-12, therefore, requires greater attention and careful handling if the problem of truancy is to be tackled on a scientific basis.

Parental Status

The table given below shows the

parental status of the 85 truants:—

Parental Status.	No.	Percentage.
Both parents alive	74	87.04
Both parents dead	Nil.	Nil.
Father dead	5	5.88
Mother dead	3	3.55
Step-Mother	2	2.35
Step-Father	1	1.18
Total	85	100

The above table explodes the myth that a wayward child is a parentless child. 74 or 87.04% of truants have both parents alive. There are very few cases in which the structure of the family has been disorganised by the death of either of the parents. Only 5 or 5.88 of the truants have lost their fathers while 3 or 3.55% have lost their mothers. No truant lost both of the parents. 2 truants or 2.35% have step-mothers while 1 or 1.18% has step-father.

Occupational and Professional Status of the Family.

The following table shows the occupations and professions of the head of the family:—

Occupation Number Percentage

I Retail Trading : —

Vegetable seller	11	12.93
Fish seller	11	12.93
Fruit seller	7	8.26
Junk merchant	1	1.18
Meat seller	1	1.18
Tea seller	1	1.18
Ghosi	1	1.18
Sweet seller	1	1.18
	34	40.02

II Transport :—

Tonga puller	4	4.70
Thela puller	1	1.18
Motor driver	1	1.18
	6	7.06

III Manufacturing :—

Carpenter	3	3.55
Shoe maker	2	2.35
Basket maker	1	1.18
Frame maker	1	1.18
	7	8.26

IV Services and Casual Labour :—

Clerk	6	7.06
Sweeper	5	5.88
Tailor	5	5.88
Dhobi	4	4.70
Domestic		
servant/peon	4	4.70
Casual labour	3	3.55
Barber	3	3.55
Mason	3	3.55
Gate keeper	1	1.18
Painter	1	1.18
Printer	1	1.18
	36	42.31

V Unemployed : 2 2.35

85 100.00

The above table indicates that parents and guardians of the truants under study are drawn from the lower socio-economic strata of the society. 36 or 42.31% of the truants are drawn from the families of casual labourers and inferior service class. Only 6 or 7.06% are clerks while the rest belong to services which are quite lowly paid. 34 or 40.02% of truants come from families where the parents are engaged in some type of retail trade such as vegeta-

ble, meat, fruit, fish and sweetmeats selling. Children of parents engaged in transport comprise 6 or 7.06% of the sample. Manufacturing trade contribute 7 or 8.26% of the truants. 2 or 2.35% of the parents are unemployed.

Income Structure of the Family.

The table below shows the income per month of the head of the family of the truants. Largest number of truants i.e. 51 or 62.53% are drawn from families having an income ranging from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 75/-p. m. As the income rises up to Rs. 303/-p. m. the number of truants show a decrease. It is evident from the above table that parents belonging to the higher income groups do not send their children to the Basic Primary Schools. These schools it appears have not been able to inspire the confidence of the intelligentsia who send their children to schools which they consider to be better organised.

Income	No.	Percentage
Below Rs. 30/-	3	3.55
Rs. 30/- to Rs. 45/-	24	28.22
Rs. 45/- to Rs. 60/-	8	9.41
Rs. 60/- to Rs. 75/-	21	24.90
Rs. 75/- to Rs. 90/-	8	9.41
Rs. 90/- to Rs. 105/-	6	6.87
Rs. 105/- to Rs. 120/-	Nil	Nil
Rs. 120/- to Rs. 135/-	6	6.87
Rs. 135/- to Rs. 150/-	Nil	Nil
Rs. 150/- and above	9	10.77
Total	85	100

Sibling Position of the Truants.

The following table brings out the position of the siblings in order of birth :—

Sibling Position	Number of Truants	Percentage
Eldest	19	22.35
In-between	43	50.59
Youngest	23	27.06
Total	85	100

The figures for the eldest and the youngest taken together come to 42 or 49.41% of the sample. The table reveals that 43 or 50.59% of the 85 truants occupy the in-between position. The range of the in-between is from the second to the sixth child. The eldest and the youngest contribute 19 or 22.35% and 23 or 27.06% of the truants respectively.

Parental Relationships.

The parental relationships were studied with a view to find out the pattern set by the parents through their relationships and the repercussions of the same upon the behaviour of the child. Various types of relationships were observed during the course of the investigator's visit to the families. Some of the truants, where very satisfactory rapport was established, volunteered such information as 'Father gives a thorough beating to the mother when he comes back drunk', 'there are constant irritation and bickerings at home', 'bickerings and irritations are at short intervals', 'the father is aggressive and shouts at the mother', 'there is constant nagging', etc. Information thus obtained was reduced into the following four broad categories of relationships :—

Type of Relationship	Number of parent	Percentage
Very Cordial	10	11.76
Harmonious	15	17.65
Disharmonious	52	61.18
Absence of Relationship	8	9.41

One of the important factors of truancy appears to be disharmonious relationship between the parents. 52 or 61.18% of the parents have disharmonious relationships. The relationships at home have a great bearing

upon the care or neglect of children. Where relationships are not cordial the chances for the child to become wayward are great. In 8 cases such relationships could not be studied due to the absence of either of the parents in the family.

Sibling Relationships

The relationship between the siblings were also carefully studied. It is difficult to reduce sibling relationships into categories as they are much more flexible than the parental relationships. The state of such relationships as given by the truants themselves may be classified as follows :—

Type of Relationship	Number of Truants	Percentage
Cordial	48	56.45
Non-cordial	34	40.00
Absence of Relationships	3	3.55

Cordial relationships is much more marked between the siblings as against the parents. Absence of such relationship was due to the fact that 3 truants were the only children of the parents.

Distribution of the Truants according to Occupation.

Attempts were made to find out if the truants were also engaged in some occupation in addition to their studies. The table below gives the occupation of 39 or 45.92% who were found to be so occupied.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
I Retail Trading:—		
Fruit/Vegetable seller	10	11.16
Milk seller	1	1.18
Cloth merchant	1	1.18
Fish seller	1	1.18
Sweet seller	2	2.35
	15	17.75

II Manufacturing:—

Tin maker	1	1.18
Carpenter	1	1.18
Leather worker	1	1.18
Basket maker	1	1.18
Frame worker	1	1.18
	5	5.90

III Service:—

Casual labour	4	4.70
Cycle worker	4	4.70
Tailoring	3	3.55
Sweeper	2	2.35
Barber	2	2.35
Dhobi	1	1.18
Daftari	1	1.18
Domestic servant	1	1.18
Cowherd	1	1.18
	19	22.27

VI. No Occupation.— 46 54.08

It is apparent that nearly 46% of the truants help their parents in retail trading, manufacturing and services like tailoring, sweeping, cycle repairing etc. The truancy of the child from the school is not a matter of alarm for parents. The child is considered as an economic asset who assists the parents in the pursuit of their occupations and professions. The unattractive atmosphere of the school is preferred to the activities of the market which have a greater appeal for the children. The children of casual labouring class such as dhobies, tailors, cycle workers etc., as also that of the retail traders such as fruit and vegetable sellers, milk vendors, sweetmeat sellers etc. contribute materially to the income of the family. These truants are the earning dependents of the family. Such a child is an economic asset to the family.

46 or 54.08% of the truants are not engaged in any other profession or occupation. They are sent to the

school for prosecuting their studies. Such children ought to benefit more from the school as they have no other subsidiary occupation to pursue. The percentage of such children is larger than that of the students who are the earning dependents of their family.

Pocket Money.

An attempt was made to find out if there is any correlation between receipt of pocket money and truancy. 82 truants were receiving pocket money from their parents while 3 or 3.55% were denied this privilege. 71 or 83.5% were receiving this money regularly. The amount of the pocket money varies from -/-/3 to -/4/- per day. Out of these 71 truants, 48 were regularly receiving -/-/6 to -/1/- per day. 11 or 12.94% were the recipients of this amount at irregular intervals. The amount of such money ranges from -/-/6 to -/1/-.

Recreational Activities of the Truants.

The play activities of the truants were studied with a view to understand their areas of interest and to obtain a better insight into their behaviour patterns. The school programme has no provision whatsoever for sports and games and is completely oblivious of this important need of the child. In the absence of an organised recreational programme for these children, who are between the ages of 6 to 14, they seek new out-lets for the expression of their bubbling energy.

The various play activities of these children were studied and the following indigenous and improvised games which require little or no equipment were discernible in order of preference :—

Play activities	Number
<i>Kancha</i>	40
Gambling	25
<i>Kabaddi</i>	19
<i>Pinnia</i>	18
Kite Flying	15
Ball	15
<i>Goli</i>	12
<i>Chore Sipahi</i>	11
<i>Sunputli</i>	6
Race	4
Playing Cards	4
<i>Lattu</i>	3
<i>Kauri</i>	2
Carrum	2
Piano	2
Wrestling	1
<i>Gulli Danda</i>	1
Hide & Seek	1
Dancing	1
Drama	1
Other Misc. Games	1

Out of the 20 games in which the children participate—*Kabaddi*, Race, *Chore Sipahi*, Wrestling, Hide & Seek, do not require any play material while other games involve minimal equipment. These are not merely the favourite games of the truants but are actively played by the children of the age group 6 to 14 years. Games like *Kancha*, *Pinnia*, *Goli*, *Sunputli*, Cards, *Lattu* and *Kori* are usually played with stakes. The element of chance and the consequent suspense in recreational activities develops and strengthens the habit of gambling among the teen-agers. This fun and amusement provided by these chance games and gambling devices detract many from the classroom. Such activities have an unwholesome influence which is not merely transmitted to the home and the neighbourhood but becomes an important factor of disorganisation of each unit where patterns thus formed are exhibited.

Scholistic Problems.

An attempt was made to understand the scholistic problems by taking into account the subject difficulty of the truants. The following table shows the type of difficulty experienced by the truants:—

Subjects	Number	Percentage
No difficulty	65	76.43
Arithmetic	12	14.14
Hindi	3	3.55
All subjects	5	5.88
	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 100

The common impression that the truant is a poor scholar is not at all indicated by the above figures. Some truants have a good scholistic record to their credit. 65 or 76.43% do not experience any difficulty in the prosecution of their studies. Arithmetic emerges as the most dreaded subject as 12 or 14% of the truants regard this as a major difficulty. The dread of the figures coupled with the dread of the teacher teaching the subject is one of the important motivating factors in the truancy of the young misbehaved persons. Next to Arithmetic is the language itself with 3 or 3.55% of the truants finding Hindi as a difficult subject. 5 or 5.88% of the truants find difficulty in all subjects. The percentage of truants i. e. 5.88% who apparently have no liking for any subject is not very significant. This shows the tremendous scope that still lies ahead in putting the child on the right track. This is possible of achievement by removing a host of deficiencies that are impelling forces in the truancy of the child and the consequent neglect of the studies.

Pupil-Teacher Relationship.

The pupil-teacher relationship was also very carefully studied. The atti-

tudes of the truants towards their teachers were carefully observed and the relationship grouped under two major heads as follows:—

Relationship	Number	Percentage
Non-Cordial	39	45.88
Cordial	46	54.12
	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 100

The extent of non-cordial or disharmonious relationship i. e. 39 or 45.88% does not speak well of any educational institution. One of the most important ingredients of an organised school system is a well balanced pupil-teacher relationship and the harmonies between the administration, teachers and pupils. Though the cordial relationships do exist i. e. 46 or 54.12% yet the percentage of non-cordial relationships is in such abundance that no serious academic work can be undertaken by the teachers and the pupils. A harmonious pupil-teacher relationship is an important factor in keeping the child in the class in spite of factors and forces that may compel a child to be out of it. The incentive for cutting the classes and keeping away from them is further accentuated by non-cordial or disharmonious relationship between the two.

Companionship Factors in Truancy

In studies pertaining to juvenile delinquency and other problems of predelinquency phases it has been observed that a lone-wolf delinquent or truant is a rarity. The problems of juvenile misbehaviour are more apparent in companionship than in loneliness. The gang formation among the juveniles is almost a universal phenomenon. The problems of misbehaviour are in proportion to the size, composition and activities of the gang which are more marked among juvenile delinquents. In the pre-delinquency

phases the gang affiliations are not very strong nor do pre-delinquents show a large number of companions. The following table amply bears testimony to the above assertion:—

Companion	No.	Percentage
Lone wolf truant	17	20.00
One companion only	39	46.03
Two companions	17	20.00
Three „	6	6.87
Four „	3	3.55
Five and more	3	3.55
Total	85	100

The contrast between a juvenile gang and companionship in truancy is apparent from the fact that 17 or 20% lone-wolf truants and 39 or 46.03% truants with one companion only comprise 56 or 66.03%, of the sample. Truants having two or more companions are 26 or 39.42%; truants having five or more companions are only 3 or 3.55%.

The most significant companionship activities, according to the preference given by the truants themselves, as well as observed by the field investigator, are as under:—

Activities	No.
Gambling	34
<i>Kancha</i> and <i>Pinnia</i> with stake	18
Wandering	10
Smoking	7
<i>Goli</i>	7
Kite flying	6
<i>Gilli Danda</i>	6
<i>Chour Sipahi</i>	3
Stealing Money (Theft)	2
<i>Kauri</i> (Shells)	2
Sanputli	2
Cinema-going	1
Hide and Seek	1

An analysis of the companionship activities clearly indicates that games pertaining to gambling, or having cash and kind at stake, are the most favoured pastime even during class hours. Next to the gambling activities is wandering and loitering aimlessly in the crowded bazars, parks and ruins. Smoking as a habit appears to be inculcated at this stage which turns out to be a life-long weakness of the individual.

Distance between the Home and the School.

This study was undertaken with a view to find out whether there is any bearing between distance from the home to the school and the truancy of the boys. There is a popular misconception that there are more chances of truancy if the distance between the home and the school is greater. The study has clearly indicated that there is no such correlation as is evident from the following table:—

Distance	No.	P.C.
Less than 200 yards	32	37.66
200 to 400 yards	27	31.76
400 to 600 yards	15	17.65
600 to 800 yards	4	4.70
800 to 1,000 yards	5	5.88
1,000 to 12,00 yards	..	..
12,00 and above	2	2.35
Total	85	100

Truant's own Explanation of his Truancy.

One of the recent trends in the etiological studies pertaining to the problems of personal and social disorganisation is to enquire from the subject reasons for this own misbehaviour. During the course of interviews he becomes quite conscious of the fact that he has been taken notice of and is a case under study. By the time information is sought on this point rapport

has been established in an abundant measure between the social investigator and the subject. The information elicited from the truant may then be considered as self-expressive.

The most important reason given by each boy for keeping away from the class has been recorded as under—

Reason given by truant for his own Truancy	No.	P.C.
Over-indulgence in play activities	29	34.34
To assist his father in trade or business	15	17.65
Irksome domestic work	10	11.76
Reasons not advanced	6	6.87
Has to go out of station to see relatives or run home errands	5	5.88
Interested in kite-flying	4	4.70
Part-time Business	3	3.55
Apprenticeship in trade and profession	3	3.55
Sickness	3	3.55
No inclination towards studies	3	3.55
Beaten by teachers	2	2.35
Has to attend the <i>Maktab</i>	2	2.35
Total	85	100

An analysis of the reasons advanced by the truants in regard to their own truancy indicates that, in the socio-economic strata of the society from which the primary basic school population is drawn, the child is an economic asset to the family. His domestic responsibilities coupled with assistance rendered to his parents in trade or busi-

ness accounts for 31 out of 85 truants. Similarly in the case of 5 truants who have to go out of station to see their relatives or run home errands is a pointer in the same direction. Thus over one-third i.e. 36 or 42.45% of the truants consider their involvements with the domestic and economic affairs of the family as one of the major reason for their truancy from the school. Personal inclinations such as over-indulgence in play activities, kite-flying, no inclination towards studies and dread of a teacher accounts for 38 or 44.80%.

Result of Action Research

The action research project was mostly acceptable to the school administration as well as to the home once a link was established through the social investigator. 46% of the parents were aware of the truancy of the child while 54% came to know of it when the social investigator paid a visit to their homes. Truancy showed a downward trend due to the cumulative influence of the caseworker's visit, the realisation on the part of the truant that he has been taken notice of, the co-operation of the parents and of the school administration. So far as the parental co-operation is concerned it was more under the impression that they may not be chattered under the rules for not sending their children to the Basic Primary School. The result of the action research may be articulated in the form of a table as under;

School	Cases under study	Regular attendance since the application of Social Action.	Percentage
Marwari Gali	18	13	72.22
Mahmood Ali	10	8	80.00
Lal Bagh	4	3	75.00
Machhli Mohal	16	9	56.25
Gupta Park	3	2	66.66
Qaisar Bagh Mandi	14	11	78.57
Ghasiari Mandi	17	8	47.06
Purana Ganeshganj	3	3	100.00
	85	57	67.06

The above table clearly indicates that the application of Social Action Research i.e. the follow-up of a truant by the social investigator in the home, the school and the neighbourhood helped in bringing down the percentage of truancy in these schools. In the process of collecting the materials for the case study of the truants the social investigator established rapport with the parents, neighbours and teachers of the truants. The link between the home and the school proved to be of immense value in bringing all such parties together as are interested in the growing child. The counselling undertaken by the social investigator who also functioned as social case worker resulted in the modification and change in attitudes of the truants, parents and teachers - the cumulative influence of which was that truancy showed a downward trend much to the satisfaction of the caseworker, the parents and the teachers.

It was, however, noticed that as the social investigator switched over to other schools and residential zones, truancy started showing an upward trend in the former zones. At this stage it was deemed desirable as important facts had already been collected to stop the survey within six months as no lasting results could be achieved by a temporary project. If a campaign against truancy has to be successfully launched it is essential to set up a permanent school social work agency with whole-time trained social workers operating constantly in each ward.

Basic Primary Schools and Truancy-Some Significant Observations

Truancy, like any other problem of social disorganisation in the result of complex and cumulative influences which may broadly be grouped as economic, social, educational and recreational factors.

The survey has already shown that the parents and guardians of the truants are mostly drawn from the lower socio-economic strata of the society and have a lower occupational and professional status. Over 66% of the parents and guardians have an income up to Rs. 75/- p.m. which gives an insight into the living conditions and the low standard of living of a large number of students studying in the basic primary schools. The young members of the family who are of school going age assist the family by supplementing the monthly income. A number of students are thus an economic asset to the family and as such their parents and guardians are apathetic towards their education. During the course of the study of the family background, and link with the home established by the social investigator, some parents boldly stated that earning was much more important than schooling as ultimately these children will have to be drawn to their professions and occupations. In some cases it was learnt that the child was earning as much as Re. 1/8/- per day.

At a place it has also been observed that visible contrasts have been created by two school systems operating in the same vicinity and sometimes on the same campus. The Model House Primary Basic School is an example of such a contrast. Kindergarten classes and the basic primary school are held on the same campus. The students of the former are smartly dressed and almost all the educational and recreational facilities are provided for children of this school while the basic primary boys are shabbily clad and have to sit on mats under a tree. The play apparatus and equipment meant for the Kindergarten school children are not allowed to be used by the basic primary boys. Such a situation creates a tremendous amount of social distance and the inculcation of feelings of inferiority among the basic school boys. Children of

basic school age coming from economically well-to-do families are sent to schools other than Municipal Primary Schools. No student coming from the upper socio-economic strata is to be found in any of these basic primary schools. It appears, therefore, that in actual working these schools are primarily meant for the under-privileged groups and the intermediate and backward castes children.

Still more significant factors are such which are to be found within the school system itself. Invariably two classes are held in one room—one half of the room is occupied by one class while the other half houses the other class. Some-times the students in one class are most interested in observing all that is happening in the other class. The students of a class have no privacy. The teacher too cannot wholly concentrate on his class. The paucity of teachers results in one teacher handling both or more classes. If the class environment is such, no serious reading and writing work is to be expected from the students. No wonder such a situation is conducive to truancy. Some of the guardians are equally sceptical about the progress of their wards.

Apart from the structural conditions of the class it has been observed in most of the schools that the strength of the teachers is not in commensuration with the work load as is evident from the following table:—

School	No. of Classes	No. of Teachers
Marwari Gali	5	3
Mahmood Ali	5	5
Lal Bagh	4	2
Machhli Mohal	5	3
Gupta Park	5	8
Qaisarbagh Mandi	5	2
Ghasiyari Mandi	5	5
Purana Ganeshganj	5	5

Generally one teacher is responsible for more than one class at a time. It is not humanly possible for one teacher to control or to take several classes at one and the same time. Consequently no effective teaching work is possible under such circumstances. Of course supervision can be exercised and such boys as are present can be made to sit till the end of the school hours.

It is highly encouraging to note that books and stationery are made available to the students free of cost by the Municipal Administration. It was learnt that books and other materials were supplied in October and November while the school session commences in July. This implies that the students must equip themselves with their own books and stationery from July to September or else play the truant. While this turns out to be a big deficiency from the functional point of view, it can easily be obviated by making such materials available to the schools much before the school session commences.

The intensified clerical activity undertaken by teachers if beyond a reasonable proportion is likely to mar the efficiency of the teaching profession. The headmasters are required to prepare several statements besides other clerical work pertaining to the school. The clerical activity has to be minimised or properly attended to by clerks if the basic primary school system is to be put on a sound functional level. The paucity of the staff on the one hand and the intensification of the clerical activity on the other have given the basic primary schools the status that they have at present.

Some of the guardians were quite vocal and regarded this school system as a sheer waste of time and energy of their wards. Such an utterance needs

careful scrutiny. The deficiencies of the school system may be too apparent to escape the attention of the parents. The apathy of many guardians towards the education of their own children may be too apparent to the school administration. The basic primary school are bereft of any recreational programme. The modern school system is fully conscious of the fact that curricular activities have to be augmented by extra-curricular activities. The basic school campus knows no recreational programmes. An absence of recreational activities is responsible for a number of de recreational activities mentioned elsewhere in the report.

A survey of the basic primary schools and truants would be incomplete without the mention of the important role played by the school peon. The truancy in a school is also in proportion to the activity and inactivity of the peon. He has to be alert and watchful. He provides the link between the school and the home. A child who is away from the school for sometime is brought back by the peon. An energetic young peon who is paying constant visits to the home is instrumental in raising the average daily attendance in the school. He is a man whose authority is felt by the parents for the constant absence of the child from the school render the parents liable to prosecution. The peon is quite conscious of his dignity and role and as such proper attendance in the school may rightly be deemed as one of the important contributions of the peon.

The U. P. State Branch of the Indian Conference of Social Work has already expressed on many occasions that if the basic primary education has to be placed on a sound footing and much public money spent on this education is to be properly utilized,

a whole time service of School Social Workers be set up immediately rather than delegating this important role to the peon. The experience acquired during the course of investigations makes it abundantly clear that a human approach to the problem in a scientific manner brings the boys, the parents and the teachers together through the medium of the social investigator. Such a contact has its own value and has helped in placing many a children back to the school. A case of organising school social work is especially strong in view of the mounting truancy in the basic primary schools and the delegation of this responsibility to the inferior staff. The Social Action Research Project has demonstrated that home and school visits by the social investigator have a therapeutic influence upon the truant and results in the development of an attitude of sympathy in the parents and the teachers. The present fear of the prosecution of parents has not been able to give a regular attendance to the basic primary schools. The problem needs close scrutiny by the Municipal Administration, the Educationists, the Government and the Social Workers. The entire basic school system be closely examined from administrative, educational and financial standpoints with a view to renovate the system. The results of a scientific deliberation may help in placing the entire system on a sound basis.

It may be recommended that a service of wholetime trained social workers, with one such worker working in each ward, in the initial stage, be set up to tackle the problem of truancy and to bring the student, the home and the school close together with the common objective of developing the personality of the growing child.

'AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATION'

By

DR. ERNA M. HOCH

Every administration, no matter how inflated it may have become, is originally designed to serve some purpose, some human need. As human needs are the field of psychiatry the psychiatrist may have to make a contribution to the subject under discussion.

Integration can mean the coordination of a system in terms of a hierarchy, of cooperation. We can think about it in terms of a cross-cut through the administrative system from top to bottom, with all its branches, at any given moment. This would be a rather static view. The situation can be considered in a more dynamic way, if the cut is not made crosswise, but lengthwise, i.e. by following the various stages of the administration of justice in the course of time. An integration in this sense, meaning a close, consistent cooperation of all authorities involved in any single case of a criminal, is just as necessary as a well constructed hierarchy of Correctional administration.

'Correction' does not only start at the moment when a criminal disappears behind the gates of a prison, but at the very moment when he is caught or even already when he knows that he is being searched for. And it does not end, when the prisoner is discharged, but should continue until he is well settled in life again. How then can we integrate this whole period, during which the criminal passes through so many hands? It seems that the one concept, under which the

whole period should be understood and organised, is that of security, not only the social security which is guaranteed to the community by the punishment of offenders, but the security which the offender himself needs. For the lack of security, whether material or emotional, is perhaps the most important factor which can lead a person into crime. In both cases we are very unlikely to treat the evil at its root, to 'correct' the offender, unless we can offer some kind of security, in which he can relax, find himself, accept values which up to now he had to refuse.

The moment when a prisoner has been caught, can very often be the decisive point, at which he can be won or lost for his re-habilitation. It is at this moment that correction begins or at least ought to begin. So security already at this stage, trust in the justice of the law and of those who administer it, is one of the primary requirements of successful correctional work. The ideal solution would actually be that one person, who has to win the criminal's confidence right at this first crucial moment, should accompany him through his whole career. While in judiciary and correctional procedure for adults this is probably almost impossible, attempts have been made in many countries at creating a coordination and continuity of this kind at least for juvenile offenders. An example is given of the close association of preventive and corrective service for Juvenile Delinquents in a Swiss city.

The problem is more difficult with adults. The separation of powers, of the judiciary and administrative authorities, has necessarily to be more strict. The continuity can perhaps not be maintained in the form of a particular person, who is responsible for the re-habilitation of the offender from the moment of apprehension right through to his resettlement in life, but it can be given by an attitude of understanding and encouragement that should pervade all authorities, from the criminal police, the judge, jail personnel, right to the probation officer and the social worker. In some cases the psychiatrist may be able to represent this element of continuity and personal contact.

If we make the concept of security,—this time security for the prisoner and for the community,—our leading prin-

ciple, it will also be fairly easy to decide whether a criminal can be left in freedom under system of probation, or whether he has to be sent to prison, and if so, to what category of prison. The offender, who can always be regarded as an immature personality, must often be treated like a child: a child has to be protected from his own impulses and instincts. He feels insecure, if he is left to indulge too much in his anger, his stubbornness and his moods. But on the other hand the child will not develop into an independent adult, if he is constantly checked in his activities and self-expression. The same applies to criminals: Some of them need the walls of a prison, possibly of a mental hospital, to protect them from their unruly impulses, while others do better, if they are shown confidence in the freedom of probation.



POTENTIALITIES OF PROBATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO UTTAR PRADESH

By

I. S. SAHARYIA

Probationary treatment of offenders has now become an accepted measure to fight and deal with the juvenile delinquency. Juvenile Delinquency, an offshoot of the social disabilities and environments, is now showing an upward trend in the country. The tentacles are spreading over a wider area with its disastrous results. Probation has come to the rescue in the case of the first young offenders and its applications are found at various stages. In U. S. A. young persons irrespective of number of offences committed may be given the benefit of probational release and allowed to continue their previous work-rather than a break to it. In our country a different picture is obtained. Only first offenders below a certain age if convicted may be given the benefit of probational release.

Probation has certainly found favour with the authorities and the public alike mainly because it has proved to be an abiding source of reformation and reclamation of the mal-adjusted. Probation has vast potentialities and it has a worth which cannot be weighed against rubies even. Prof. A. H. Mac Cormick sums up as: The true worth of probation is the sum of its potentialities as an instrument of crime and delinquency prevention and control, as a stout dike against the floodtide of crime and the rapidly rising tide of delinquency, as a process of socialised justice the function of which is to bring about the social re-adjustment of chil-

dren and adults whose maladjustment has been expressed in delinquency and crime. Its net worth is that true worth, unmeasured and unmeasurable, minus the liabilities that subtract from the potential value of probation everywhere in greater or less amount, and in some jurisdictions reduce its assets to the vanishing point.

Practical value of probation.

There are better chances of bringing about improvement in probation services by convincing the public that probation saves money than we have by convincing that it saves souls. In USA, it has been estimated that adult probation services in which each probation officer had a case load of only 25 probationers it would cost 150 to 200 dollars per year per case. Contrast the average per capita cost of operating adult penal and correctional institutions throughout the country which has been estimated at 1000 to 1500 dollars per year.

Probation officers and proponents of probation get tired of repeating shopworn facts and figures. But the uninformed tax-payer needs to be reminded constantly that to the savings in institution construction and operation we can add millions of dollars in fines and restitution collected from adult probationers, other millions that are saved in family welfare and relief funds when a man is put on probation and required to support his family, and the incalcul-

able amount in the cost of future crime that is saved when a person makes good on probation and turns permanently off the path of crime.

Social values of probation.

Its practical values are more defined than the social values. It is a "Socialised justice". Prof. Mac Cormick has nicely summed it as under :—

1. By practical demonstration, probation confirms the validity of the correctional approach to the offender as opposed to the purely punitive approach. Probation thus advances our social thinking and social philosophy another notch and pegs it there. Social progress in general is the sum total of advances in a great variety of fields. Not only does progress in one field contribute to the sum total but it also stimulates progress in related fields. This is particularly true of the fields that are concerned with the socially disapproved behaviour.

2. Probation helps maintain the unity of society by holding families together. It strengthens the concept of the individual's social responsibility by permitting, and requiring, the offender with a family to support it and to carry out his other family responsibilities conscientiously.

3. Probation strengthens the concept of the community's responsibility to the individual by keeping the offender in the community instead of rejecting him from it, and by bringing all the community's resources to bear on his problem. Conversely, it does not let him escape his responsibilities to the community as a whole, not merely to his family, but requires him to function as a citizen and helps him to do so.

4. Probation increases the public's understanding and acceptance of crime

and delinquency as social problems which must be viewed in the frame of total social structure and not in the narrow frame of law enforcement.

5. Probation strengthens the concept of socialised justice by demonstrating that the interests of the individual offender and of society are not antithetical, not separate but inseparable.

6. Further, society is not an abstraction ; it is made up of human beings. Probation is a service that does more than strengthen and preserve "Social Values". It is a service that saves human beings from the unhappiness and defeat that will come to them and their families if they continue in delinquency and crime. It is not only a most practical process of crime prevention but also a noble humanitarian service.

Probation Success.

Probation has shown very promising results, so much so that the prison population in England has been reduced by 70% in about 30 years by the use of this method. In other countries the success is in the same measure and only 30% are sent to prison.

In the State of Uttar Pradesh there are two schemes which are in operation for the deliverance of the socially mal-adjusted persons. The daily average population of the U. P. Jails in 1953 was 33,501 prisoners. In the year 1939 the U. P. Government enacted the following measures to improve the lot of the incarcerated.

1. *The U. P. First Offenders Probation Act*:—It has been a landmark in the direction towards the treatment of juvenile delinquents and a consequent reduction in the Jail population may

be predicted. It is a step towards the *individuation* of treatment of the offender in the state. Briefly, it lays down that first offenders, irrespective of age, may either be released after due admonition (u/s 3) or released on probation of good conduct for a certain period on personal bond and with or without sureties u/s 4 (1). But a person under 24 years of age, if found guilty, may be released on probation of good conduct for a certain period and placed under the supervision of a probation officer with a personal bond and with or without sureties. So far as Madras and U. P. Acts are concerned it is a condition precedent that no previous conviction should have been proved against the offender but under the English law it is not so.

2. *The U. P. Prisoner Release on Probation Act.*—The measure has been another milestone to improve the status and morale of the prisoner and afford him a chance to readjust himself in the social fabric. Barring certain offences a prisoner who has put in one third of his sentence in the jail is eligible for pre-mature release from the jail,

Here it would be convenient to place figures and gauge the possibilities of probation benefits. The U. P. First Offenders Probation Act has been in operation in 17 districts of the state. The number of probationers released under the supervision of the probation officers from 1st October 1939 to 31st December 1953 has been a little over 6000 boys. The total average number of probationers in 1953 was 1310. In that year the budget under probation was Rs. 1,53,000/-. The average per capita cost of a probationer per year was Rs. 117/-. Compare this figure with the cost of putting a person in the jail which was Rs. 337/- in 1953. Referring to the potentialities the total number of persons imprisoned in the year 1953 in the U. P. Jails was 59,253

and the persons at the beginning of the year in the jails were 21,148. Thus a total of 80,401 persons were dealt with in the U. P. Jails. Now out of this lot 20,084 prisoners were below 25 years in age and were imprisoned for the first time (casuals). What a huge number could have been given the benefit of probational release by the courts. They could have been placed under the supervision of the probation officers. If we on a conservative scale estimate the number of prisoners to be released on probation at 10,000 persons, then there would have been a net saving of Rs. 10,000 × 337, i.e. Rs. 33,70,000/- to the state exchequer. Keep it aside. What would have been the most significant thing was the salvaging of 10,000 human lives and their dependent families from a life of crime and undesirable activities. Secondly, if these 10,000 souls had been out of the jails, they would have contributed to the national income atleast to the tune spent by state Government, if not more. The state was thus a double loser. And the greatest loser was the person incarcerated and his family which missed all social contacts and means of livelihood. What a colossal waste-human and social-unmeasurable indeed.

Secondly, the premature release of the prisoners is equally important in the scheme. During the year 1953 59,253 persons were sentenced to various terms. In a good number of cases the prisoners could certainly have been given the benefit of pre-mature release and thus be a saving to the exchequer. The figures prove that persons thus released have very rarely abused the leniency shown to them thus. A thorough survey may be made and a list prepared of the convicts who may be considered for premature releases.

Some suggestions as to the intensive use of the probationary treatment are

herewith made for consideration. The scheme of probation can certainly be applied far more liberally than is being done at present. The basic idea is that we should have as little as possible people inside the jail and keep them out.

(a) Probationary treatment before committment to Jail.

In our state the working of the U.P. First Offender Probation Act has proved a success towards the reformation of the first young offenders. With the experience gained by its working for the last 15 years it is an established fact that it does not meet the requirements of the day. The modern technique of prevention of crime and treatment of offenders has made rapid advance and the Act does not keep pace with it. And therefore either the Act may be amended or another enactment may be brought about covering the following points.

1. There should be no bar as to the age of the persons to be released on probation.

2. There should be no bar as to the number of offences committed by the offenders for eligibility to probation.

3. That the offender if released on probation should provide two sureties of reliable character.

4. That a preliminary enquiry report as to the antecedent, character etc. of the offender should be mandatory and it should be had in all cases from the probation officer.

5. That there should be a monthly report from the probation officer regarding the conduct, character, employment etc. of the ward.

6. That the person thus released should report once a month in the office of the probation officer.

7. That the person thus released should inform the probation officer

every month regarding his activities through letters.

8. A part of the fines imposed by the court should be available to the probation department for rehabilitative work.

9. That the person thus released should be considered for employment with the private firms and the state establishments.

10. Each probation officer should have a case load of 50 probationers. He should be in the immediate charge of them and make efforts for their proper rehabilitation.

11. The probation officer should get all possible priority and co-operation from the sister departments namely medical, police, education and planning so that the rehabilitation programme may be gone through with ease and efficiency.

12. There should be a Psychological Bureau attached to the District probation Office which should give a psychological check-up and report.

13. A pick-up should be provided to the probation officer which may enable him to have a quicker mobility.

14. There should be a Probation Committee with the District Magistrate as its Chairman and the probation officer as secretary. The members should be A. D. M., Suptd. Police, Suptd. Jail, Civil Surgeon, Planning Officer and five nominated persons to guide and assist the probation work in the district.

(b) After Committing to the Jail.

Another effective way to reduce the jail population is to have a more liberal use of the provisions of the U. P. Prisoners' Release on Probation Act. Some more sections may be brought within its purview. It has got vast potentialities and the jail population can certainly be effectively reduced and thus curtailing the annual jail budget.

JAIL REFORMS IN WEST BENGAL

By

J. C. GHOSH

Since India attained independence in 1947 there have been increasing and continuing attempts at jail reform. Several States among whom may be mentioned Madras, Bihar, Bombay U. P., Orissa, & East Punjab appointed Jail Reform Committees. Government of India secured the services of Dr. Reckless, an eminent Criminologist from the United States; and though prison administration is a subject for the States the directions and guidance given by the Centre have served as a co-ordinating factor when new measures are being thrashed out. In West Bengal various measures have been introduced and others are being worked out to reform our prisons, their administration and the ways and lives of those who unfortunately have to pass their days behind the prison bars.

There are some who are not satisfied with the rate of progress of these reforms. There are others who think that we are moving too rapidly in the matter and making jail life soft and even attractive and fear that it may cease to have the terror that it should have in order to deter potential criminals. It would be well to take stock of what has been and is being done and where we really stand in the matter. Fundamentally, the basic idea behind punishment and indeed its moral justification is the protection of society. To this end from early ages criminals have been locked up behind prison bars.

For many years the idea that dominated prison administration in one form or another was that if we want the criminals to mend their ways and want punishment to be really deterrent to potential criminals we must make the prisoners endure hard labour, hard fare and hard bed. We have ample evidence of the unnecessary and degrading cruelty that at one time characterized prison administration. We are a long way off from those days. Our prisoners are now being well-fed and well-treated. The sanitary and medical arrangements in our jails are acknowledged to be of a high order. But what mainly distinguishes the present spirit of jail reform is a recognition that the dignity of man must be respected even in a criminal.

We talk of the criminal, the convict and the prisoner; but there is no such entity in the abstract. In our prisons there are men and women, adults and young persons who have come in conflict with the law in different circumstances under different motives. There are those who have taken to crime as a profession. Their number fortunately is not large. Others are driven to crime by adverse circumstances too strong for them; others again commit offences in the heat of the moment and are over-powered by events. Most of them have families to care for and peoples who care for them as parents, sons, wives, etc. Each case presents a human problem and

calls for understanding and sympathy. Let there be no mistake. Deterrence still remains one of the principal aims of punishment. But loss of liberty is the greatest deterrence. That is the penalty that the prisoner pays for his past. In prison he must be made to do his duty in the present and to make himself fit to take his place back in the community as an honest citizen in the future. This is not only good ethics but it is also sound policy; for, after expiry of the term the prisoner does come back to the community.

Government of West Bengal have accepted the principle that a prisoner must come out of jail a better man than when he went in. The purpose of treatment in jail should be not only to make him better fitted to lead a useful and honest life in society but to establish in him a will to do so. An important measure to this end is the establishment of educational classes in all our central and district jails. 60% of our male prisoners are illiterate. Among the women prisoners the percentage of illiteracy is still higher. Every convict whose sentence exceeds 3 months and whose age is below 50 has to attend these classes. For others attendance is optional. These classes are supplemented by the audio-visual method of imparting education with the help of educative and documentary films. This is a method which has a ready appeal and what is learnt thus is not easily forgotten. This method is particularly suitable for adults who have to live an artificial life within prison walls.

For reformation of the prisoner proper classification is of primary importance. On this depends the nature of his treatment and the form of custody to be provided for him. Unfortunately all our prisons at present are maximum security prisons. But the establishment of a minimum security

prison or an open air jail is under consideration. A reception centre, however, has been opened in Alipore Central Jail under the guidance of a trained psychologist. The object is to implement curative measures by exploring the work interest of each convict in a scientific way. It works through a vocational guidance scheme which finds out the appropriate employment for each prisoner and the areas of activities which will release and sublimate the prisoners' emotional leanings.

Disciplined labour is the essence of jail administration. Absence of habits of discipline and refusal to do honest work often go hand in hand with crime. In prison every convict has to work for regular hours. He has to observe discipline, obey orders and abide by rules. It is expected that the habit of industry and discipline thus inculcated will continue in later years when he comes out of jail. At one time the idea was to keep the prisoner occupied in oppressive hard labour. The principle has now been accepted that labour must be useful. Further, so far as possible every prisoner is trained in a craft or industry which develops his faculties and gives him a chance to stand on his own when he comes out to face a competitive world. The ghunny operated by hand is now a thing of the past. Instead in the Presidency Jail in Calcutta there is a well-organized factory including oil mills where various machines are operated by electric power. Among other jail industries are carpentry, weaving, tailoring, soap making etc. A large number of prisoners are also engaged in the big printing press in Alipore Central Jail.

Prison labour is an essential part of legal punishment. A convict, therefore, cannot demand payment for the work done by him as a matter of right. It would, however, be strange in a

world of paid labour to expect anybody to have love for work forced on him and for which he is paid nothing. As an incentive to work West Bengal Government have introduced a system in the various central jails according to which payments are made to prisoners for work done by them. A convict who does the allotted task of hard labour is paid 6 annas a day and those who do minimum or light work 4 annas a day. If the allotted task is exceeded by 25% they are paid 2 annas extra. During 1955 Rs. 1,12,715/- were earned in this way by 14,258 prisoners in the 3 Calcutta jails. The prisoner is allowed to spend half the money earned by him in this way in purchasing petty luxuries like sweets, tea, biscuits, newspapers, etc. The other half is credited to his account and is paid to him at the time of release either in cash or in the shape of tools of trade which he has been taught in jail. This helps in his ultimate rehabilitation in society.

One of the bad effects of imprisonment is that it tends to deaden faculties as the prisoner has ordinarily to obey orders and act according to directions even in minute details in his every day life and has little opportunity to exercise independent judgment or take responsibility. To avoid this the Panchayet system has been introduced in all central and most district jails. Under this system prisoners elect their representatives who take charge of the cooking and distribution of food, sports and recreation of prisoners, look after sanitation of the jail and deal with petty jail offences. This gives the prisoners a sense of participation in the management of their affairs. The result has been a marked decrease in petty jail offences.

Another important measure calculated to relieve the monotony of jail

life is the installation of radio in all central jails. This not only enables the prisoners to hear songs and music in their leisure hours but also gives them news and views which are very important to a person perforce cut off from all normal contact with the outside world.

All the various measures and attempts at improving the system can, however, only provide the framework. Reformation of the prisoner to be successful requires the personal efforts of welltrained and sympathetic prison Officers. For this the Government of West Bengal have been sending every year a number of selected Jail Officers for special training in the Lucknow Jail Training School. They have also appointed 2 Welfare Officers in the Alipore and the Presidency Jails whose special responsibility is to look after the welfare of prisoners, to ensure contact between the prisoners and their families and to attend to the personal and family problem of these men during the period of their detention.

It has to be recognized, however, that in spite of all the measures that can be adopted to improve prison administration and for reformation of the prisoner, to an individual a sentence of imprisonment is almost a catastrophe. He is cut off from his family, society and friends. He loses his job and business and if he is an earning member his family may lose the bread earner. The family is disgraced. To avoid these possibilities the probation system was introduced in West Bengal by the Offenders (Release on Admonition and Probation) Act, 1954. This Act enables the Courts in certain circumstances to release first offenders whose sentence does not exceed imprisonment for 6 months, on probation of good conduct

instead of sending them to Jail. These probationers have to be under supervision of trained Probation Officers for a minimum period of 1 year and this period may extend to 3 years.

The probation system is an application of the idea of individualization in the treatment of offenders. Before the Magistrate lets out an offender on probation there will normally be a thorough enquiry by a trained Probation Officer not only into the circumstances in which the offence was committed but into the antece-

dents, home surroundings, associations and other matters concerning the offender and his potentialities for reform. Finally the Probation Officer will act as the friend, philosopher and guide of the probationer and by a planned constructive treatment throughout the period of probation help him in keeping to the path of rectitude. It can well be expected that the operation of this Act will result in saving not only many individuals but many families from disgrace and ruin and at the same time protect society from the misdeed of potential criminals.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF JUVENILE AND ADOLESCENT DELINQUENCY IN LUCKNOW AND KANPUR

By

S. C. VARMA

Delinquency is anti-social behaviour which is at the same time punishable by law. The terms juvenile and adolescent delinquency suggest a specific age range, a special mode of trial and an appropriate type of treatment of the offender. In India the age of criminal responsibility starts at the age of seven years. But the definition of the upper age limit of the juvenile period and the adolescent period is not uniform in the different States of the country. As the study pertains to delinquency in the two major cities of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow and Kanpur, a State in which the Reformatory Schools Act of 1897 is in operation according to which the upper age of the juvenile period is below fifteen years, the juvenile delinquent has been defined as an offender between seven to fourteen years of age, while an offender between fifteen and twenty-one years is treated as adolescent delinquent for the purposes of this study.

The present study is based on case histories of three hundred delinquents, one hundred and fifty each in Lucknow and Kanpur. These cases comprise the entire population of delinquents registered on a fixed date in the District Jail, Reformatory School and Probation office. When the figure 150 was reached for each city, no fresh cases were studied. As the purpose of the study was an accurate assessment of socio-economic background of the delinquents, cases belonging to cities

other than these were excluded. The data were collected through personal and well controlled interviews with the delinquents, their parents, siblings, neighbours, companions, teachers and school mates. The official records of the Jail, Reformatory School and Probation office, and the School, wherever available, were the chief secondary sources of information about the delinquents.

Age, Religion, Caste, Nature of Offences, and Number of Offences.

The study revealed that the average age of the juvenile delinquent was twelve years while that of the adolescent delinquent seventeen years. The most inflamed ages of the juvenile and adolescent offenders were fourteen and sixteen years respectively, suggesting that the delinquents were either at the threshold of the adolescent period or had just entered it. Since the proportion of adolescent delinquents was significantly higher than the delinquents in the juvenile age group, it appears that the problem is more of adolescent than juvenile delinquency.

The proportion of delinquents belonging to Hindu religion was significantly higher than those who belonged to Islam or such other communities as Christians, Sikhs, Punjabis, Sindhis and Nepalīs. The proportion of delinquents from Muslim community was significantly higher in Lucknow than

in Kanpur. As regards the delinquents who were Hindus, in Lucknow largest number of them came from Upper castes, closely followed by Intermediate castes and Lower castes, while in Kanpur delinquents in largest proportion belonged to Lower castes, closely followed by Intermediate and Upper castes. However, there was no significant proportional difference between delinquents from Upper or Intermediate castes in Lucknow and Kanpur. But significantly more delinquents in Kanpur than in Lucknow belonged to Lower castes. Regarding the age and caste-wise distribution of these delinquents, it was noted that significantly more juvenile delinquents came from Hindu Lower castes than from any other caste or community while significantly more adolescent came from Hindu Upper castes than from any other caste group.

The highest proportion of delinquents was of those who were convicted for offences against Property, this being significantly higher in Lucknow than in Kanpur. Next came the delinquents who had a record of offence against the various Special Acts, the proportion of such cases being significantly higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow. In the against Property group of offences, theft was the most common offence, significantly more common in Lucknow than in Kanpur while picking pocket was more common in Kanpur than in Lucknow. In the against Special Acts group of offences, Vagrancy was the most common offence in Lucknow and violation of the Excise Act in Kanpur. Gambling was significantly more common in Kanpur than in Lucknow, vagrancy more common in Lucknow than in Kanpur while the violation of the Excise Act was confined to Kanpur only. The number of delinquents having a record of offences against Person and Sex was negligible.

As regards the age-status and nature of offence of the delinquents, there was no significant proportional difference between juvenile and adolescents convicted for offences against Property or for Gambling, while more juveniles than adolescents were convicted for Vagrancy, in Lucknow. In Kanpur, excepting for against Property group of offences for which more juveniles than adolescents were convicted, more adolescents than juveniles were convicted for Gambling and the violation of the Excise Act; there being no significant proportional difference between the juveniles and adolescents convicted for vagrancy. It was noted that the offences against Person and against Sex were confined to delinquents in adolescent age group.

The proportion of delinquents convicted for offences against Property was highest in Muslim followed by Intermediate Hindu castes. But while in Lucknow vagrancy was the most common offence in each caste and community next to offences against Property, in Kanpur next to offences against Property came the violation of the Excise Act, excepting among Muslim group of delinquents in which Gambling was the second most common offence. The offences against Person were confined to Lower and Upper Hindu caste in equal proportion, and Muslims in Lucknow, while in Kanpur these were confined to Hindu Lower castes and Muslims. As regards the offences against Sex, while in Lucknow they were confined to Hindu Upper and Lower castes and Muslims, in Kanpur they were confined to Hindu Lower and Intermediate castes.

The proportion of First Offenders was significantly higher than Recidivists. Also, the proportion of delinquents having only one previous offence was significantly higher than those having two or more than two

previous offences. But whereas the maximum number of previous offences in Lucknow was two, in Kanpur it was three. The proportion of adolescent Recidivists was significantly higher than juvenile Recidivists. The proportion of First Offenders was higher than Recidivists in each caste and religious group. The highest number of Recidivists in Lucknow were from Lower Hindu castes while in Kanpur they were from Muslims. It is noteworthy that the proportion of Recidivists was higher in against Property group of offenders than in any other offence group.

The Delinquents Family : Structure, Sibling Position and Parents.

With regard to the structure of the home it was found that the proportion of delinquents who came from Unbroken homes was significantly higher than those who came from Completely Broken homes. But on combining the cases from Completely and Partially Broken homes, it was revealed that while in Kanpur more delinquents came from Broken homes than from Unbroken homes, in Lucknow no such difference existed. Also, the proportion of delinquents coming from Partially Broken homes was higher than those coming from Completely Broken homes. Father was dead in larger number of cases than Mother. But whereas in Lucknow more delinquents had mother as a step parent than father, no such difference was revealed in delinquency cases in Kanpur. Further, the proportion of Recidivists coming from Broken Homes was significantly higher than First offenders, suggesting that the rehabilitation of a delinquent from a broken home is rather difficult. In most of the cases father or mother had died while the delinquent was still a juvenile.

The average number of children in the family was four. The sibling posi-

tion of most of the delinquents was that of "in between". The proportion of delinquents who were the youngest children was higher than those who were the eldest. In but few cases, the delinquent was the "only" child.

In most of the cases, the parents of the delinquents were either illiterate or had read up to Primary standard only. Mother was illiterate in significantly larger number of cases than father while the father had read up to Primary stage or beyond it in larger number of cases than mother. Evidently, the educational standards of the parents were poor, poorer of mother than of father, a finding which becomes significant in the light of the fact that the primary responsibility of bringing up the child rests on mother, particularly during the early formative years of life. It was also revealed that the proportion of cases in which the parents had desirable habits and interests was significantly higher than those in which one or both parents had habits of an undesirable nature. Gambling was the most common undesirable habit of such fathers or mothers. Significantly more fathers than mothers had an undesirable habit.

As regards the habits and interests of siblings, the proportion of cases in which siblings had desirable traits was significantly higher than those in which one or more siblings had an undesirable habit. However, the proportion of cases in which one or more sibling had an undesirable habit was higher than those in which either or both of the parents had an undesirable habit.

The religious and cultural standards of the family were poor. Members of the family visited the places of worship like temples, mosques, gurudwaras, etc. but irregularly. It was the proportion of delinquents who never visited such places which was significantly higher

than those who did visit them, though the visits of these too were rather irregular, more so in Kanpur than in Lucknow. Also, the proportion of cases in whose homes scriptures were never read or recited was significantly higher than those in which they were, besides the fact that such readings were mostly of an irregular nature.

The Delinquents Family: Its Socio-economic Status.

Though economic hardship and poverty alone cannot be held responsible for the development of a delinquent career, yet they cannot be ignored, more so in view of the painful contrast between splendour and glamour on the one hand and drudgery and drabness on the other that exists in our urban community, the essential spirit of which is material success. Poverty not as such but the reaction which it evokes, which very much depends on the value attached to material possessions by the society or the community that may be treated as a criminogenic factor.

It was found that the average monthly income of the family was only Rupees seventy-two. While in Lucknow, fathers of the delinquents were mainly engaged in services like washerman, domestic servant, barber, shop assistant and hotel waiter or in retail trading like vegetable seller, milk seller, cloth seller, pan seller, meat seller etc., in Kanpur they were mostly working as labourers, factory and casual, and in retail trading. Significantly more fathers in Lucknow than in Kanpur were engaged in manufacturing trades like carpentry, blacksmithy, shoemaking etc. While significantly more fathers in Kanpur than in Lucknow were working as factory labourers, significantly more fathers in Lucknow than in Kanpur were working as casual labourers. In only very

few cases in Lucknow and also in Kanpur, fathers were engaged in jobs which are designated as "white-collar" jobs.

It was also noted that the proportion of fathers engaged in Retail trading was significantly higher in cases from Hindu Upper castes than in any other caste or religious group. The fathers engaged in manufacturing trades were mainly among the delinquency cases from Muslims; fathers engaged in transport from Muslim group alone while the proportion of fathers working as labourers was highest in cases from Intermediate and Lower Hindu castes.

As regards the gainful employment of the mothers, in most of the cases they were not earning members of the family. However, the proportion of working mothers was significantly higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow. The occupations in which they were usually engaged were vendor, domestic servant and casual labourer. While the proportional difference of mothers working as vendors or domestic servants in Lucknow and Kanpur was not significant, significantly more mothers in Kanpur than in Lucknow were working as casual labourers. It is thus evident that the mother was not outside the home for the sake of a job.

Taking the standard of housing as an index of one's socio-economic status, it was observed that the housing condition of most of the delinquents' families was far from wholesome. Most of them were living in one-room tenement, more so in Kanpur than in Lucknow, or in two-room tenements. Such facilities as varandah, courtyard, lavatory, water-tap, kitchen, ventilation and electricity were conspicuous by their absence or inadequacy. Most of these houses were "kuchha" (of

brick and lime) and rented, the rental value of these being Rs. 7.33 in Lucknow and Rs. 7.64 in Kanpur on an average. The average number of rooms per family came out to be 1.4 and 1.3 in Lucknow and Kanpur respectively.

The neighbourhood conditions of the family were also far from satisfactory. The proportion of families living in business-cum-residential areas of the city was significantly higher than those living in residential areas or marketing areas. These business-cum-marketing neighbourhoods are characterized by narrow uneven lanes, poor sanitation and lighting, poor-quality dwellings, overcrowding, absence of open play spaces or parks and a mixed population mostly engaged in low-status value occupations like labourers, petty hawkers and shop-keepers, and petty manufacturers etc. Such poor housing conditions, low rental value of the houses and their poor physical state are usually found in poor or underprivileged neighbourhoods, all of which indicate a low socio-economic status of the delinquents' families.

The Home : Interpersonal relationships, Attitudes and Nature of Disciplinary Practices Adopted by Parents.

The interpersonal relationships and attitudes fostered in the home play a crucial role in the maturation of the child's personality and behaviour. As the values and norms of the culture are transmitted to a child through these personal contacts with other members in the family, the development of habits and attitudes of a desirable nature depends to a great extent on the harmony - content of these interpersonal relationships.

With regard to the delinquents' home it was found that the relationships between father and mother,

parents and siblings, parents and relatives, among siblings, between siblings and relatives and among relatives were usually of a cordial nature. It was the relationship between the delinquent and siblings and between the delinquent and father that were marked by tension and conflict while his relationships with mother were mostly cordial and also with relatives. This finding may be interpreted in terms of interpersonal attitudes in the home. Thus, the siblings and fathers were mostly rejective of the delinquents who countered it with hostility or dislike towards the former, while the appreciative attitude of the mother was rewarded by their liking for the mother and the attitude of indifference of the relatives by indifference on the part of delinquents for them.

The differential attitudes and relationships of the father and mother with the delinquent and the reactions of the latter towards the former may be taken as related to the disciplinary practices adopted by them. Thus, though physical punishment was the most common method adopted to correct the delinquent, reward and reasoning being the least favoured one, it (physical punishment) was adopted more by father than by mother. Also, turning out of the home was resorted to more by father than by mother who adopted threatening and suspension of privileges more than father. Evidently, physical punishment and turning out of the home are more severe than threatening or suspension of privileges and may evoke much stronger resentment than the latter. Evidently the methods of correction adopted in home were defective in view of all the scientific methods, methods saturated with sympathy and understanding, that are being evolved to correct and rehabilitate the delinquents and criminals today. For, bitter memories of early days caused by harsh and unsym-

pathetic treatment in the home cannot be easily effaced, prejudice as they do one's attitude towards the sanctity of the authority of the society.

The Community: Companionship, Nature of Offences and Number of Offences.

It has been noted above that the delinquents could not get a companionship in the home, the need of which arises from a desire for emotional security and recognition. They sought it outside the home. Thus the proportion of delinquents who had companions was significantly higher than those who were solitary or "lone-wolf" delinquents; this proportion being higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow. The average number of companions was two, most of the delinquents having three to four companions. These companions were mostly older, of the same caste, educational standards, and socio-economic-status, non-earners, and of undesirable habits and delinquent character, very much like the delinquents themselves.

Also, the companionship group of adolescent delinquents was larger than of juvenile delinquents, the average number of companions being two in the case of former and one in the latter. It was further noted that Recidivists had more companions than First Offenders, the former having three and the latter two on an average. Thus, the age, status and number of offences of the delinquent on the one hand and the size of the companionship group on the other seem to be interrelated.

The age of the companions and nature of offence also seem to be interrelated as evidenced by the finding that the proportion of delinquents having older companions was highest

in case of those who were convicted for offences against Person or Property in Lucknow and against Person or for the violation of the Excise Act in Kanpur. The proportion of delinquents having companions of the same age was highest in the Gambling or Vagrancy cases while of those who had younger companions was highest in Vagrancy cases (or Gambling cases) in Lucknow and Gambling cases in Kanpur. Mixed companionship was marked in those cases who were convicted for Gambling.

The number of companions seems to vary with the nature of offence. Thus, the 'lone-wolf' delinquents were mainly those who were convicted for offences against the Pure Food Act or for offences against Sex in Lucknow and for the violation of the Excise Act in Kanpur in addition to these. Further, the average number of companions was smaller in against Property group of offenders or vagrants than those who had a record of offences against Person or Gambling Act.

The relations of the delinquents with their companions were not on an inter-familial level, that is they were mostly personal, suggesting that the parents or guardians of the delinquents were not in the know of the nature of their companionship. The reasons for lack of inter familial relations between the delinquents and their companions seem to be fear of parents' disapproval, the desire of the delinquents to be out out of the home, alone with the companions in full freedom, and lack of adequate space to entertain friends in the home.

These findings may warrant the conclusion that the companionship of the delinquents was unwholesome and defective for being undesirable and unsupervised.

The Delinquent: Pre-delinquency traits, Educational Standard, Leisure-time interests and Recreational zones and Employment.

Socially disapproved and punishable habits and attitudes develop over a period of time with the growing multiplicity and complexity of life-experiences. Thus, it was found that most of the delinquents had been in the habit of using profane language, smoking, loafing about and coming home late at night, disobeying the parents, particularly the father, stealing in the home and disposing off home belonging, gambling and masturbation long before their first appearance in a court of law. More than fifty per cent delinquents had been indulging in homosexuality. Truancy from home, use of intoxicants and heterosexual misconduct were marked in but few cases. Some of the habits like using abusive language and smoking may not be taken seriously for their wide prevalence among adults in the home and outside it whom the growing child often imitates in complete innocence and simplicity. As regards gambling, it seems to have become the spirit of the present age, besides the fact that the thrill of it may be treated as an escape mechanism or that when money cannot be acquired for the satisfaction of natural or acquired needs through honest labour, it may be acquired through taking chances, that is, gambling or theft. To treat gambling as a manifestation of "infantile megalomania" and "psychic masochism" resulting in "an unconscious wish to lose" sounds magical. The habit of coming late at night which was so common among delinquents, indicates a dislike or indifference towards the home on the one hand and weak parental control on the other while homosexuality suggests a strong sex urge in adolescent period and non-availability of a partner of opposite sex. It was noted that excepting seven

cases, four in Lucknow and three in Kanpur, all the delinquents were unmarried, there being no case of a widowed delinquent.

In view of commercialization of recreation which has taken it out of family supervision, wholesome utilization of leisure, forced or earned, is quite a problem in modern urban community. In the case of the delinquents it was found that the chief recreation in more than fifty per cent cases was Movies. Relatively fewer delinquents were interested in games, exercise, swimming, household work, music or reading. Also, significantly more delinquents were interested in outdoor games than in indoor ones, one of the reasons for which may be the lack of material facilities for recreation in the home coupled with a desire to remain outdoors. For it was found that only about seven to eight per cent delinquents used to pass their leisure time in the home.

The places usually frequented during the leisure time were picturehouses, markets and railway stations, that is, places which are usually crowded and therefore afford greater chances of picking pockets, stealing and other mischief-making. That the proportion of delinquents who passed their spare time outside own neighbourhood was higher than those who stayed in it suggests that the delinquents were not only outside their homes but were at a distance from it. It is not surprising, therefore, that the parents or guardians of the delinquents were unaware of their leisure-time activities.

A detailed analysis of the Movie interests of the delinquents has revealed that of the delinquents who used to go to Movies, most of them used to visit it twice to thrice a week, the average number of weekly visits being one in Lucknow and two in Kanpur.

Further, the delinquents usually attended evening or late night shows which may be one of the reasons for their returning home late at night, did not take any one's permission in the home, either were in the company of friends or were alone and preferred mythological, stunt, adventure and crime, historical and romantic pictures more than pictures based on some social or other serious themes. This preference structure suggests their taste for fantasy, adventure, glamour and sex. Evidently, it is defective, though it is difficult to state the exact degree to which the delinquents had picked up undesirable attitudes and habits from the Movies.

The educational standards of the delinquents were poor as evidenced by the finding that the proportion of the delinquents who had never been to a school was significantly higher than of those who had received some formal education. Also, of those who had been to a school, the proportion of those who had given up their studies before completing the primary standard was significantly higher than those who had completed it or had gone beyond it. The proportion of delinquents who had given up their studies before completing the primary stage was significantly higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow. The significant reasons for this educational backwardness were poverty, gainful employment, lack of interest in studies and death of the parents. Evidently, the reasons are mainly economic in nature. Not much information could be gathered regarding the delinquents' companionship, attendance and academic attainments in the school as most of them, had given up their studies five to six years ago.

Premature economic independence may prove harmful to a growing child by way of affording him greater free-

dom from parental control at an early age and by hampering his proper and adequate educational development. Thus, it was noted that more than fifty per cent delinquents, sixty-five in Lucknow and seventy-seven per cent in Kanpur, had taken up a job at an early age, a finding which may be attributed to the poverty of the family and the desire of the delinquent to be independent of family control and domination. The occupations in which the delinquents had worked at one time or other were mainly street trade occupations such as hotel boys, cycle repairers, casual labourers, rickshaw pullers, street hawkers, vendor in cinema houses, shoe-maker or shoe-shine boys etc. These are the occupations in which the employers' supervision is negligible, hours of work and place of work are not fixed, chances of coming into contact with undesirable people are great, earnings are poor, there is no security of job, no education or special skill or training are required and the status-value of which is very low in the community, as a result of which one fails to develop a sense of pride and joy in the work. It is but natural that one does not feel obliged to stick to such occupations, as was the case with delinquents, who had been changing their occupations rather frequently, the average number of changes being 3.4 in Lucknow and 3.6 in Kanpur.

The chief reasons for such frequent occupational changes were directly connected with the occupation itself such as dissatisfaction with earnings, non-payment of wages in time, dissatisfaction with work and quarrel with the employer, which was but natural under such circumstances. That the parents' disapproval of the occupation was but a minor cause, indicates the indifference of parents towards the delinquents' occupational wellbeing. Also, that delinquency was not a

major reason of occupational changes suggests that most of the delinquents had committed the delinquency while they were not on job.

Conclusions.

This analysis of the socio-economic background of the juvenile and adolescent delinquency, suggests:—

(I) That the problem is more of delinquency during adolescent years (15-21) than during the juvenile period (7-14).

(II) That delinquency is significantly motivated by utilitarian considerations as suggested by the high preponderance of offences against property.

(III) That the delinquents, in most of the cases, did not have delinquency patterns in their homes. However, the delinquents' home was not culturally refined, a fact which may be attributed to such interrelated factors as poor educational standards of the parents, siblings and the delinquent, and economic backwardness of the family.

(IV) That the delinquents were not adequately integrated with the home, due to its being broken either structurally or emotionally, particularly with father and siblings.

(V) That this lack of a feeling of oneness with the home contributed to the weakness of parental control and, coupled with cultural poverty of the home, tended to increase the risks of an undesirable companionship, of an uncultivated leisure and of a premature economic independence, forced or voluntary, of the delinquent.

Evidently, the solution lies, on the preventive side, in better living conditions, free education, general or vocational, protection of children from street trades, and provision of scientific guidance to parents in matters of child management. On the treatment side, humanization of the police and inferior staff of penal institutions, complete segregation of undertrials and convicts, of First Offenders and Recidivists & of juvenile & adolescent delinquents and adult offenders, and shortening of the undertrial period to the bare minimum are the measures which cannot be avoided. For, the reform of the police, judiciary and prison is an essential part of the rehabilitation of the delinquent which is to a large extent conditioned by the amount of bitterness evoked by these in the hearts and minds of the offenders. Above all, the public outlook towards the ex-convicts has to be changed through re-education of the public. For, to quote Oscar Wilde, "Many men on their release carry their prison about with them into the open air, and hide it as a secret disgrace in their hearts, and at length, like poor poisoned things, creep into some hole and die. It is wretched that they should have to do so, and it is wrong, terribly wrong, of society that it should force them to do so. When the man's punishment is over, it leaves him to himself; that is to say, it abandons him at the very moment when its highest duty towards him begins."*

*Oscar Wilde, "De Profundis", The Works of Oscar Wilde, edited by G.F. Maine, Collins, London and Glasgow, p. 861.



JUVENILE VAGRANCY

A Socio-Ecological Study of Juvenile Vagrants in the Cities of Kanpur & Lucknow

by

DR. SHANKAR SAHAI SRIVASTAVA

During the last few years considerable interest has centred on the phenomenon of juvenile vagrancy—a problem of pre-delinquency stage. The anti-social behaviour exhibited by these children who decline to take up fixed abodes and prefer the hardships of an exposed life is most amazing. A vagrant child is one who stays away, or tends to do so, from home without the consent of his parents. These children are found loitering around the factories, markets and shops, in the mean dwellings, on the platform and on the railway yards, or in the dark streets where the Sun hardly penetrates. As a rule, little importance is attached to vagrancy although it is the first step towards delinquency. Though apparently it is aimless loitering, in reality it is functional, as habitual delinquents in most of the cases have been leading a vagrant's life from early years and have attained their career by regular experience and company.

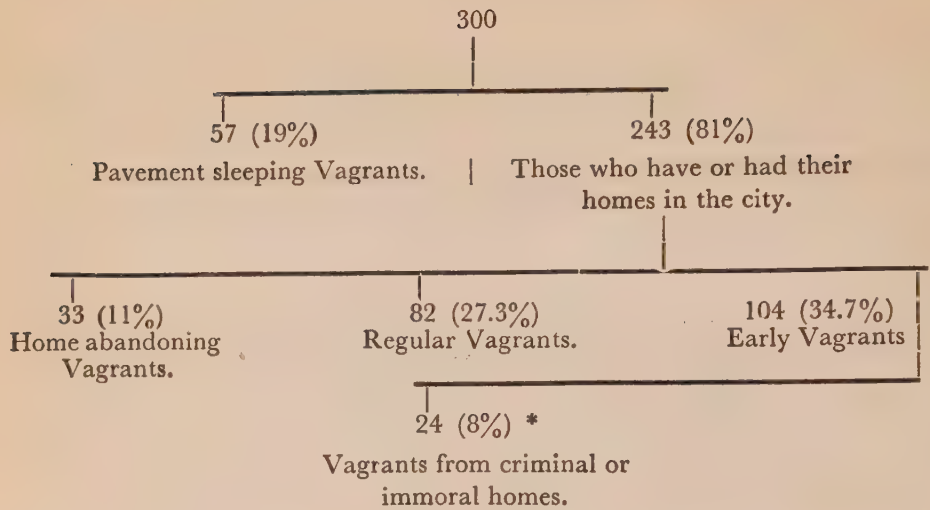
Both the cities under study with all their ecological zones characterized by the slums, factory sidings, interstitial areas and the junk markets are the concentrational places for many a vagrant. They form the nuclei for a high incidence of delinquency. The vagrants in this study have been classified into two major groups, (In all 300 cases of vagrants have been studied)

I. '*Pavement Sleeping Vagrants*':—These are boys who do not belong to

the city in which they are living. They come from villages or from other towns and sleep in the open on the streets or on the lawns near the railway stations. The number of such vagrants studied is 57.

II. Vagrants who have or had their homes in the city. They are 243 in number. This group has been further classified into four sub-divisions.

- (i) *Home Abandoning Vagrants*:—These are boys who have completely severed their connections from their homes. This group includes vagrants who had their homes in the city but due to the loss of both the parents are homeless. They are 33 in number.
- (ii) *Regular Vagrants*:—These are boys who frequently absent themselves for days. They are 82 in number.
- (iii) '*Early Vagrants*':—These are boys who still maintain their relations with their homes. They move out in the day but usually come back in the night. They are 104 in number.
- (iv) *Vagrant from Criminal or Immoral Homes*:—Vagrant and delinquent behaviour in these cases is quite compatible with the norms of their families. They are 24 in number.



Some of the places of high concentration of the 'Pavement Sleeping Vagrants' are the 'Station Yards', 'Canal Colony' and 'Moolganj' at Kanpur, and the Railway Station at Lucknow.

Following is the age-group distribution of all the cases studied in both the cities:

<i>Age-Group.</i>	<i>No. of Vagrants</i>	<i>Age-groups.</i>	<i>No. of Vagrants</i>
7- 9 —	6	13-14 —	91
9-10 —	32	15-16 —	62
11-12 —	63	17-18 —	46
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	101		199

Vagrants belonging to the age-group of 13-14 are the highest in number i.e. 91. The vagrancy curve shoots up from 7-8 years, reaches its peak at the age-group of 13-14 and gradually goes down thereafter. The following table shows the distribution of vagrants, religion and caste wise.

* The number of vagrants belonging to this group is comparatively less than in others. This is because the children coming out of such families directly take to a delinquent career and in most of the cases do not resort to vagrancy. In most of the cases they take to gang life and cannot be contacted easily.

<i>Exterior Castes</i>		<i>Intermediate Castes</i>		<i>Artisan Castes</i>		<i>Higher Castes</i>	
Chamars	25	Kahars	25	Telis	4	Brahmans	14
Koris	20	Ahirs	11	Sonars	3	Vaish	10
Khatiks	17	Kurmis	9	Halwai	1	Kayasthas	9
Pasis	12	Kalwar	1	Nai	1	Thakurs	4
Lodhs	7	Muraos	2	Dhobi	1	Khattris	2
Bhangis	6	Baris	3	Kumhar	1		
Kewats	2	Barai	1				
Gadarias	2	Malis	2				
Rais	1						
Total	92		54		11		39
		Hindus			196		
		Muslims (Predominantly lower class)		..	99		
		Christians		..	5		
					300		

The treatment that the children receive in their cultural and social set-up is chiefly responsible for their waywardness. Among the exterior castes, where low wages, casual employment and unsatisfactory housing conditions are the general rule, vagrancy in children is usual.

Insecurity and absence of affection in the homes and broken families are further causative factors. The number of vagrants belonging to the higher castes shows that vagrancy is not the special feature of the lower strata. When the higher caste families degenerate physically and socially, a similar milieu as in the case of exterior castes is created. A few of these cases come from the artisan castes. Here the children most often remain at their homes and work as apprentices in the hereditary occupations. Hence the chances of their taking to vagrancy are less. The investigations hitherto, show that 57.3 per cent of the total cases come from normal homes. Here normal home means where both the parents are alive. The following table shows the parental situation and the home structure of the vagrants,

Broken Homes.	128	42.7%	Without Parents	..	34	11.3 %
			Without Father	..	53	17.7 %
Normal Homes.	172	57.3%	Without Mother	..	41	13.7 %
			With real parents	..	118	39.3 %
			With Step Father	..	20	6.7 %
			With Step Mother	..	34	11.3 %
					300	100.0

It is thus noticed that vagrants with their parents alive are the highest in number. Under certain circumstances the presence of both the parents can be as deleterious to the children as the absence of both or either of them.

The following table gives the size of the house-holds of the vagrants. (Only parents and step-parents and siblings are included in the house-hold although other members including grand-parents are found living in the family).

<i>No. of Members.</i>		<i>No. of House-holds.</i>		
		<i>Normal..</i>	<i>Broken</i>	<i>Total</i>
1 *	—	—	8	8
2	—	—	17	17
3	—	4	22	26
4	—	17	25	42
5	—	20	30	50
6	—	44	19	63
7	—	43	5	48
8	—	27	1	28
9	—	10	1	11
10	—	4	—	4
11	—	3	—	3
		172	128	300

From the above table we find that the normal homes have larger membership than the broken ones. There is every possibility of the size of the house-hold in the normal home increasing further. Deterioration of their economic circumstances would give fillip to vagrancy. It is significant that in the normal home the first child in the family is vagrant. It shows that in these cases family disorganization is deep-rooted. The following table gives the distribution.

(20 cases, 4 from normal homes and 16 from broken homes have been excluded from this analysis, the vagrant being the only child).

<i>Place</i>	<i>Number of Vagrants .</i>		
	<i>Normal Homes.</i>	<i>Broken Homes.</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st Child	56 *	19 †	75
2nd Child	53	41	94
3rd Child	39	26	65
4th Child	15	23	38
5th Child	4	3	7
6th Child	1	—	1
Total	168	112	280

* Only the Vagrant is alive.

* 4 Cases have been taken out as vagrant in them is the only child.

† 16 Cases have been taken out as the vagrant in them is the only child.

In general, vagrancy in these families has an early start and in majority of cases, the vagrant is the first and the second child. It is generally seen that the behaviour patterns of children are conditioned by what they see, dramatize and imitate from their parents. This analysis shows that parents (where they are alive) in these families do have unwholesome habit patterns which have their reactions upon the children who are vagrants and have similar habit fixtures.

‡ Out of 107 cases in Lucknow where the fathers are alive, 60 are extremely alcoholics, 35 are partially alcoholic and only 12 are non-alcoholics. Alcoholism is not limited to the male parents only. In 27 cases mothers are also liquor addicts. Twenty three of these cases come from the families where the father is extremely alcoholic. It is not surprising if the children in these families with low cultural levels take to drinking from an early age and soon become regular addicts. In 35 cases the male parents are heavy drug addicts. The incidence of gambling in parents is considerably high. Out of 213 cases where the male parents (in both the cities) are alive, 95 of them are regular gamblers. They have accepted gambling as one of their major sources of income. In several cases the father does not stop at gambling and use of intoxicants only but also pays visits to brothels. Correct statistics are not available though in 51 cases this habit is apparently traceable, including 19 who had admitted it. In most of these families the relationship between the various members is not balanced. Inadequate human relationship and conflicting attitudes, drive children to vagrancy. Children being deprived and thwarted in affection when their needs are not satisfied, prefer streets and gangs to their homes.

The attitudes of the various members of the family towards the vagrants and vice versa, are rated below.

Out of all the fathers interviewed:—

23.5 per cent liked the vagrant children. According to their version vagrancy was due to hard times and their inability to provide all that they needed.

42.05 per cent did not like them. Unwholesome company and disobedience of parental authority were the general complaints.

19.48 per cent showed an ambivalent attitude.

14.87 per cent of the fathers were quite indifferent to their vagrant sons. They gave no other opinion about them except that "Let them go where they like".

Out of the vagrants who have their fathers alive :

12.5 per cent showed their linking for the father.

27.3 per cent disliked their father.

60.2 per cent had an attitude of indifference towards them.

‡ The statistics about alcoholism only pertain to the city of Lucknow—a wet area. At Kanpur—a dry area, people take liquor and drug stealthily. Thus no statistical analysis is possible.

Mothers in general had a soft corner for the vagrant children.

46.06 per cent said they liked the vagrant son.

22.96 per cent had a dual attitude of like and dislike.

18.05 per cent said they did not like him.

12.91 per cent were indifferent.

Very few of the vagrants made definite complaints against their mothers, step-mothers excepted. Some hinted towards their infidelity.

21.79 per cent vagrants liked the mother.

16.23 per cent did not like her.

61.96 per cent showed an attitude of indifference.

As the number of siblings in all the families is more than one, the majority opinion of the siblings towards the vagrants and vice versa, has been considered. It is found that the siblings individually have differential relationships with their vagrant brothers and so is the case with the vagrants towards each of the siblings.

20.76 per cent of them liked their vagrant brother.

32.78 per cent did not like him.

46.44 per cent had an attitude of indifference towards him.

Most of the vagrants have a similar set of attitudes towards their siblings as the latter have towards them.

10.69 per cent of the vagrants liked them.

35.87 per cent did not like them.

53.43 per cent were indifferent.

A majority of these families are deteriorating economically. A number of them with abnormally large sized house-holds are unable to provide the bare economic necessities and thus fail to maintain the minimum subsistence level. The problem, however, seems to rest more upon the way income is spent and upon the consistency of the instruments of earning and sources through which it is earned, rather than on the earning itself. Some of them do have potentialities to earn enough to make a good living. The net income of the family is hardly ever pooled together. Its distribution among the various members of the family is also usually partial. In the majority of cases the number of breadwinners is one (usually the father). In 66 cases, however, the mothers also earn. 32 of these have to do so out of necessity as the father is either dead or deserted. In 52 cases the elder brother of the vagrant earns. But only in 19 cases, out of which 9 belong to broken homes, he supplements the family's income. In 4 cases, the family has grand-father as its breadwinner. In 6 cases the elder sister of the vagrant goes out to work to supplement the family's earning. Most of the parents have unstable and partially stable occupations and uncertain incomes.

The following table gives the distribution of 213 male parents on the basis of their occupational stability.

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of</i>		
	<i>Male parents.</i>		
(i) Stable	—	59	— 27.7%
(ii) Partially Stable	—	69	— 32.4%
(iii) Casual (unstable)	—	56	— 26.3%
Infirm	—	4	— 1.9%
Unclassified	—	25	— 11.7%
		<hr/> 213	<hr/> 100.0

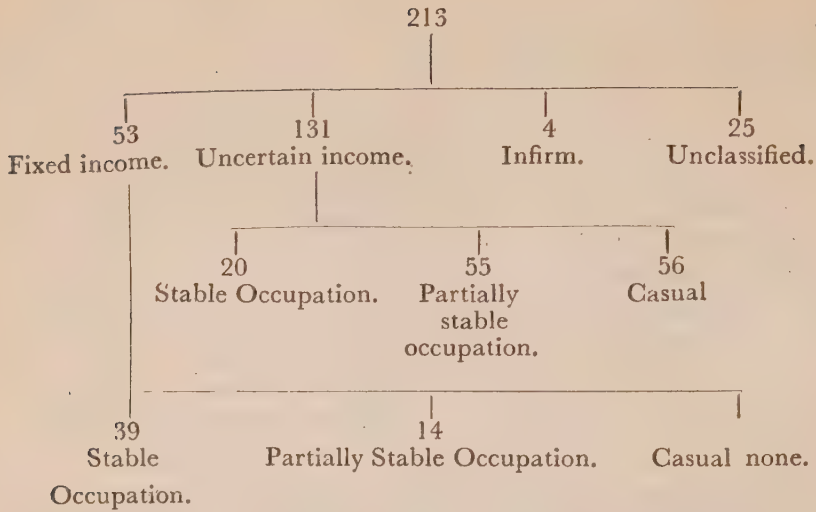
Only in 27.7 per cent of the total cases where the father earns, the occupation is stable and the planning of the family's expenditure is balanced.

The following table gives the distribution of 225 female parents according to the nature of their occupational stability.

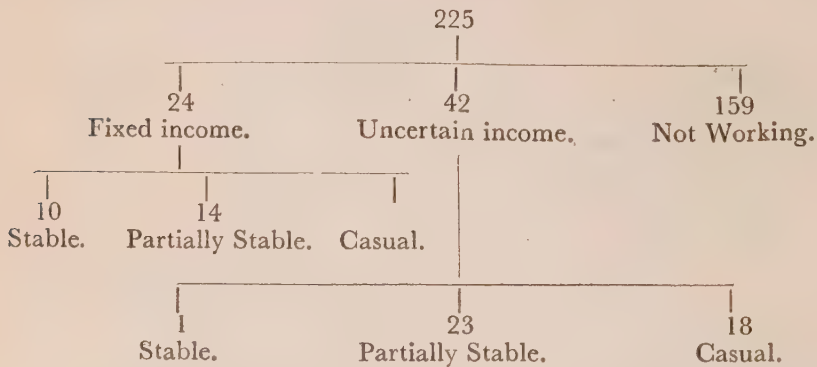
<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of</i>		
	<i>Female parents.</i>		
(i) Stable	—	11	— 4.9%
(ii) Partially Stable	—	37	— 16.4%
(iii) Casual (unstable)	—	..	— ..
including begging			
& immorality.	—	18	— 8.0%
Not working	—	159	— 70.7%
		<hr/> 225	<hr/> 100.0

70.7 per cent of the female parents do nothing to raise the family income. The number with stable occupations is only 4.9 per cent.

The number of cases where the family's income is uncertain, is in overwhelming majority. These families lack in proper planning of their expenditure and do not have a systematised living. The following table gives the distribution of 213 male parents in regard to the uncertainty and certainty of incomes.



25 cases where the occupation of the male parents could not be traced out can be included in the uncertain income group. Similar is the case with female parents. Out of 66 earning only 24 have certain income. The following table gives the uncertainty and instability of incomes and occupations of 225 living female parents.



There are only 24 cases where the mother has stable occupation and fixed income. Most of the vagrants are found living in subnormal housing conditions-conditions which fall below the minimum required by the number of occupants living therein. Out of 300 cases;

59.7% or 179 in number live in rented houses.

22.3% or 67 in number have absolutely no house to live in. This number includes 57 'pavement sleeping vagrants'.

18.0% or 54 in number have their own houses.

100.0 300

111 cases or 37.0 per cent have single roomed tenements with room-rent ranging from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 8/- per month. Nearly 18.4 or 55 in number have rented two-roomed tenements, and only 4.3 or 13 in number have rented houses with more than two rooms. The following is the detailed analysis of the type of dwellings of the vagrants.

Rented:—	{ One roomed tenements (Bare)		— 67	22.3%
	{ One roomed tenements (with attachments)		44	14.7%
	{ Two roomed tenements (Bare)		— 15	5.0%
	{ Two roomed tenements (with attachments)		40	13.4%
	{ House with more than two rooms		— 13	4.3%
Owned	..	..	— 54	18.0%
No House	..	..	— 67	22.3%
			300	100.0

The average number of occupants in the tenements with single room is 4.42 and with attachment is 5.7. The average number of occupants in two roomed tenements is 6.1 and with attachments it is 4.75. This average is very high in the houses of more than two rooms. The average number of occupants per house in them is 7.3. The average number of occupants per house owned by the vagrant's family is 5.9.

Only a few of the one - and two-roomed tenements have lavatories attached to them. People usually go out for ablution in the neighbouring open fields or use public latrines. Children use public gutters. Lavatories are, however, attached to the owned houses, or those having more than two rooms.

The vagrants can be grouped in regard to the degree of their compa-

nionship affiliation. The classification can be done under three major heads.

(a) Vagrants having no fixed company including the solitary type	122	40.7%
(b) Vagrants having partial affiliation with gangs	101	33.7%
(c) Vagrants having an active gang life	67	22.3%
Unclassified	10	3.3%
		300 100.0

The number of such vagrants who still do not have fixed company is fairly large. Next come the vagrants with a diffused gang life. The number of vagrants with full-fledged gang life is 23.3 per cent. This stage is the end product of vagrancy as the vagrants in these cases have already reached maturity of their carrier and easily drift towards a delinquent

career. Vagrancy is dynamic process. If unchecked, the boys with no friends or with no fixed circle of friends have every tendency to become member of gangs. There seems to be a definite correlation between the degree of gang affiliations and age-factor. The boys who belong to gangs mostly belong to higher age-groups.

The following are the average ages of vagrants belonging to each of the groups:—

- (a) Vagrants with no fixed company 12.3 years.
 (b) Vagrants having partial affiliations with gangs 14.1 years

- (c) Vagrants with full-fledged gang life 15.7 years.

The gradual rise of age with the degree of companionship affiliation and with corresponding decrease in the number of vagrants, shows that vagrancy is the linking stage between normal life and a full-fledged criminal career. It is seen that gang ties are inversely related to home ties. Vagrants having full-fledged gang life are boys who have either severed their contacts or have strained relations and regularly absent themselves from homes. Vagrants belonging to criminal families are mostly members of gangs.

The following table gives the distribution:—

	<i>From immoral homes.</i>		<i>'Pavement Sleep- ing' Vagrants.</i>		<i>'Home Abandon- ing' Vagrants.</i>		<i>Regular Vagrants.</i>		<i>Early Vagrants.</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Gang	12	50.7	7	12.3	17	51.5	26	31.7	5	4.8
P. Garg	8	33.8	30	52.6	13	39.4	31	37.8	19	18.3
N.F. Coy	3	12.5	16	28.1	2	6.1	23	28.1	78	75.0
Unclassed	1	4.2	4	7.0	1	3.0	2	2.4	2	1.9
	24	100.0	57	100.0	33	100.0	82	100.0	104	100.0

Most of the 'early vagrants' have no fixed company and are less gang-minded. It is amazing to note that though 'pavement sleeping' vagrants have completely broken their home ties, they have slightly less consolidated life on the gang patterns. Group participation and degree of affiliations seem to depend upon the cohesive nature of the participants. The exterior caste vagrants though large in number, are found to be comparatively less gang-minded. Among the Hindu vagrants the degree of group affiliation differs from caste to caste. The Muslim vagrants on the whole show a greater propensity towards gang life.

		<i>Gangs</i>		<i>Part Gangs</i>		<i>No. Fixed Coy.</i>		<i>Unclassified.</i>	<i>Total</i>
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
Muslim		35	52.24	37	36.63	25	20.49	2	99
HINDUS	Ext.	10	14.93	22	21.79	55	45.08	5	92
	Int.	8	11.94	18	17.82	27	22.13	1	54
	Art.	2	2.98	6	5.94	3	2.46	..	11
	High	11	16.42	14	13.86	12	9.84	2	39
Christians		1	1.49	4	3.96	..	..	..	5
		67	100.0	101	100.0	122	100.0	10	300

A. Habitual gamblers, employing technical devices. Fully aware of the fact that gambling is anti-social, and indulging several times in a day, with profit motive and definite hang-outs. 73

B. Regular gamblers, employing less technical devices and involving no direct payment and no definite hang-outs. The activity to some extent is a source of recreation and play. .. 143

C. Vagrants who are regular in activities pertaining less to gambling and more to play and recreation. The transactions are hardly made through money as the stakes are play objects themselves. No hang-outs and the vagrants can play before the parents and neighbours ... 84

Total 300

Habitual gamblers usually play games of 'card and shell' while others employ crude methods as games of 'Pillu' and 'Sun bibi' etc.

(iv) *Use of intoxicants:—*

Vagrants usually prefer 'Bhang'. They take it with sweets. Some of them especially the senior boys often go for liquor. The intoxicant, they say, protects them from chill and removes fatigue. The use of tobacco is common and almost all of them smoke. Usually costly cigarettes are preferred.

(v) *Stealing and pilfering:—*

Stealing in various forms is a common practice to raise money or to obtain something which otherwise is

not available. Pilfering of eatables from the shops is one of the notable activities of these juveniles.

(vi) *Juvenile trade:—*

Other activities most frequently indulged in to raise money, are juvenile trade in stolen goods and juvenile labour. Some of the parents encourage their children in this nefarious trade. The presence of juvenile trade and child labour apparently seems to be wholesome but is actually detrimental to the child. Trade is done in stolen articles. This provides encouragement to the boys who get further stimulus to undertake more daring thefts. The income is never spent in a proper way. Major share of it is drained out in buying cigarettes and intoxicants and in visiting movies and gambling dens. They spend little on food and clothing. Juvenile labour is mostly in the form of carrying cinema posters for advertisement and working as porters on the railway stations. Some of them casually take to shoe-shine work.

From the spatial distribution of the vagrants, i.e. the territory occupied by their residences in both the cities, it is found that the vagrants mostly dwell in the area which borders the city's central business core. These 'areas of concentration of vagrants'—surmounted by their high intensity of population, extra rapid mobility and deteriorating neighbourhoods, are also the areas with high rate of crime and delinquency.

It is interesting to find that within the 'area of concentration of vagrants' there are several areas comparatively more conducive to vagrancy than other. Consequently the places of residence of vagrants within the 'areas of concentration' have a tendency to form clusters. Some of them are major clusters (signifying that a parti-

cular or few adjoining localities contribute a larger number of vagrants) while some are minor clusters. This cluster formation signifies that the locality has several operating factors conducive to vagrancy in children. The major clusters at Kanpur are, 'Canal', 'Coolie Bazar', 'Patka Pur', 'Moolganj', and 'Begamganj' and at Lucknow 'Charbagh', 'Qaisarbagh', 'Nala Birhana' and 'Wazirganj'.

From a thorough analysis of these areas of major clusters in both the cities we find that they are in general geographically and socially 'heterogeneous interstitial' cultural areas between localities of two communities-Hindus and Muslims. They are mostly inhabited by business class (small shop keepers) and persons with uncertain incomes. These areas consists of congested localities with hardly any park for children to play in. At Kanpur the situation is still worse. Most of these clusters are near the vagrancy zones-places where vagrants congregate to indulge in their activities.

The functional aspect of vagrancy becomes more interesting when we find certain zones in the city or on the outskirts where vagrants mostly assemble to operate and find substance for their activities.

The physical and ecological layout of these areas easily allure the boys from problem families. They go there to find satisfaction of their desires and needs which they fail to get within their homes. These operational zones, later on, provide a realm of adventure, scope for companionship and source of

recreation and income which their homes fails to provide. A detailed ecological study of these zones shows the relation between the type of activities and the physical characteristics of the area which can be classified into four types. !

I. *Open Field Zones* :—

Zones like river and canal banks, parks and play-grounds meant for activities needing more space and time, i.e. gambling and other play-activities. They are also the favourite places of truants.

II. *Zones around the railway premises* :—

This zone is also one of the major clusters of the residence of vagrants and well-known for gambling, begging, stealing, pocket picking and sex-malpractices.

III. *Periodic Zone* :—

Zones which are periodic vagrancy resorts. Usually they are markets. They come to exist either on alternate days as at Kanpur or on every Sunday as in Lucknow. They are noted for shop-lifting, pilfering and juvenile trade.

IV. *Permanent market Zones* :—

Zones for pilfering, picking pockets, standing and shop-lifting.

Following is the four-fold classification of major operational zones in both the cities :—

	I	II	III	IV
Kanpur	Canal Bank	Parade	Station and Railway Yards.	1. Moolganj. 2. Sabzimandi. 3. Nayaganj.
Lucknow.	1. River Banks including Residency. 2. Zoological Garden.	1. Nakhas.	1. Station & Railway Yards.	1. Aminabad & Qaisarbagh: 2. Chowk & Sabzimandi. 3. Hazratganj. 4. Daliganj. 5. Sadar.

The importance of these zones depends upon the frequency of visits paid by the vagrants. The time when vagrancy is at its peak in a particular zone, is also noteworthy. Vagrants only operate in a zone when their operation promises maximum returns and there is least external interference. They are usually the market zones—periodic or permanent ones. There are, however, certain zones where this time limit has got little or no significance like the railway promises. A

similar striking change in the incidence of vagrancy is noticed when we consider the weather and seasonal variations. The peak vagrancy time in a particular zone is equally influenced by the weather and season. If the weather is unfavourable as on a hot mid-day in summer or on a rainy day, vagrancy drops. This variation is more apparent in the zones of open type. Vagrancy in general declines in summer and rainy season and goes up in winter.



A SOCIO—ECONOMIC—STATISTICAL SURVEY OF BEGGARY IN URBAN MEERUT

by

D. M. ROY

"He who opens a vagrant Home, shuts the prison"

—Hugo

Introduction.

A need for a probe into the All-India Situation. The beggar is ever elusive and mobile. There is constant Inter-State migratory movement of vagrants. The flow threatens to be parennial. They move from pockets of scarcity to what they think to be pockets of plenty. It is a complex social problem and not merely an economic one. Social problems cannot be solved. They can only be cured. An effective cure can be encompassed only by an epic effort on a nation-wide basis. The States through ancilliary steps can contribute towards the all-out offensive in a varying measure. For a correct diagnosis and proper therapy there is a natutal necessity to have probe into the back-ground of this sinister social ill which has assumed epidemic proportions to-day.

A pen-picture of the begger underworld within the Republic of India. (i) 20 lakhs of beggars live sub-human lives in the fatal border-land between starvation and survival.

(ii) They fraternize dirt and disease.

(iii) It is a mass phenomenon. It is a colossal problem of the evergrowing area of social paralysis.

(iv) The mounting strength of the delinquent children is a menace to our future.

(v) The beggar under-world is a pathological museum, a laboratory of vast and varied human problems. It is a plague spot in our Welfare State.

General Characteristics. Sociologically, putting the points in a nutshell, the beggar constitutes :—

(i) a grim portent of family disorganisation ;

(ii) a mobile source of infectious diseases ;

((iii) a preventible cancer in the body-politic ;

(iv) a walking bundle of strange vices and many crimes ;

(v) an avoidable charge on the Police finance.

Fixation of the Poverty Line. All beggars do not beg out of economic necessity. Hence in the general context of rehabilitation, we need have fixation of the 'Poverty Line'. This implies the provision of 2600 to 3000 calories per adult per day from a cheap but balanced diet, 40 yards of coarse cloth per adult per annum, 80 square feet of floor area per person and normal necessities of life.

Rise of the beggar population in India. Nature has been bountiful but history and fate have been unkind. Vagrancy has a vital link with a multitude of other social problems. Causes fall into two types, remote and proximate.

Here are some of the operative factors that lie at the root of the phenomenal rise of the beggar population in India. —

(i) Joint family system with joint ownership and joint responsibility becoming disjointed, mainly under economic duress, partly under impact of the new conception of a family unit imbibed from the West.

(ii) Advent of modern machines replacing human hands in cottage and small-scale industries and dislocating old-time village economy.

(iii) Long-continued economic exploitation and colossal drain of wealth by foreigners.

(iv) Pseudo-religious beliefs, under which hordes of able-bodied people look upon begging as their natural right and have now become drones of society.

(v) Fast growth of population and in-ordinate pressure on the land, increase of population in India between 1941 and 1951 is 10.4% while increase

in food production is 3.4% (census 1951). The result is the displacement of the worker from the land without any alternative means to find employment or subsistence. Migratino from rural areas to cities becomes inevitable.

(vi) Primitive methods of agriculture and in-attention to soil science.

(vii) Poverty and Unemployment:— Of the working population of 120 millions, hardly 99 millions are fully employed. Labourer on land has five month's work in a good year. Agriculturist is employed for seven months a year. An industrial labourer is employed on an average for nine months in a year. Under-employment and unemployment among rural families and migratory industrial workers help swell the ranks of beggars.

(viii) Indiscriminate alms-giving to all and sundry to the deserving and the underserving.

The Scope and Object of the Survey. The survey covers the whole of urban Meerut, which has a population of 2½ lakhs. The objective of the survey is to assess:—

(i) The extent to which the able-bodied vagrants can be gainfully employed by the Gandhian technique of 'aided self-help' and be converted into helpful producers of national wealth instead of being perpetually parasites on society.

(ii) The extent to which the menace to public health may be minimised by taking care of leprosy cases under the Lepers Act, 1898 and by managing other contagious cases under cognate measures.

(iii) The extent to which the rising tide of delinquency amongst truant

children may be stemmed by preventive and ameliorative measures, broad-based on modern principles.

(iv) The extent to which the crime situation may be eased by a synthetic and scientific probe into the beggar under-world, which is the nursery of untold evils.

Pilot Survey. The Pilot Survey was started on August 22, 1956. The 22 wards of the City and Cantonment were sub-divided into suitable Zones. The investigators were given preliminary training. They went round the Zones three times a day, in the early dawn when beggars rise from sleep, in the forenoon and noon when they beg and eat their meals; after night-fall, when beggars repair to their places of concentration.

Field Work. Regular field work started from August 30, 1956. Six investigators were at work in three groups of two each. As beggars are very mobile we had to hit upon a triple device to keep clear of the repetition of the same beggar twice or even thrice.

Devices. (i) The mathematical theory of combination was pressed into service ${}^6C_2=15$. So 15 groups were made by interchange of investigators. They went out to their assigned zones in cyclic order.

(ii) In the beginning, middle and the end of the fieldwork they met in a common place to exchange notes.

(iii) Scrutiny was undertaken before the work of analysis began. Schedules were alphabetically arranged to weed out possible repetition. Even with so much precaution, 8 repetitions were detected.

A need for a new approach. The beggar underworld includes within its fold alchholics, drug addicts, delinquents, 'morons' and the half-demented people.

The texture of their mind is somewhat sub-human in pattern. They have a psychosis with a strong blend of an uncanny fear-complex. The most of them are weak-lings and split personalities who have fled from some crisis in life, moral or financial. More often than not, they would fain withhold the truth and spin out a yarn. Waves of vague fear and strong distrust lash against their mind when we accost them long enough. It might easily vitiate the enquiry. It means all the difference between success and failure in our mission to elicit truth from the illusive beggar population.

Our Scheme. Our scheme has a difference with a distinction from other schemes used elsewhere. The schedule has a new outlook. The design is statistical, the content is sociological, economic and psychological.

Multiple causes and manifold conditions that prevail in the world of beggars have been made out beforehand. Trained investigators in the simplest of dresses went out "in two's", one kept on talking with the beggar in a mellow tone of sympathy and the other just ticked off each one of the items in split second, rather than write up details in the presence of the vagrant. Probability is that we might get greater approximation to truth, which is almost sure to be a casualty in the normal tenor of orthodox methodology.

The questionnaire is made out in two separate sheets. The first sheet which contains 27 questions, is meant for all vagrants. The second sheet

containing an equal number of queries of sociological and psychiatric value, is meant for that cross-section of the beggar fraternity which by the tenor and content of the replies reveal to the discerning investigator a spirit of co-operation. This smaller sample is intended for close statistical analysis and is expected to yield results for an effective formulation of rehabilitation policy.

Under this scheme, about 75% of the beggars did not come to know that they were under investigation at the time. The response from the beggars is satisfactory.

The beggar population of Meerut swings between 500 and 1,000 with the cycle of the seasons, with the coming in of 'fairs' and festivals in the vicinity and with the harvesting seasons. When crops are reaped, landless labourers are needed in the country-side and there is a fall in number. Besides there is regular flow of beggars at the Railway Station. There are some vagrants who stay one to seven days in a place and move to another city. Some of them operate in the range of Delhi-Meerut-Saharanpur.

The total number of beggars found and investigated in the whole of urban

Meerut during the period of survey was 511. Investigation revealed that they had 294 direct dependants. Out of these dependants, 244 live with them and 50 live in adjoining villages. Thus the total beggar population present in Meerut during the period of investigation was 755, though the public of Meerut had to provide for 805 mouths.

511 beggars, studied in the report, constitute a representative cross-section of the varying beggar population of Meerut. The enquiry gives an index of their condition. The data have been presented in the simplest way possible. Different facets of the problem have been treated separately.

General Information About

Beggars in Meerut.

Age Group and marital status. Table 1 shows that amongst the male beggars a third are unmarried and two-sevenths are either widowers or separated. Among the female beggars, the one-tenth are un-married and more than half are widowed. It goes to show that the female beggar took to begging when her bread-winner died. They are helpless victims of circumstances.

TABLE No. 1

*Distribution of Beggars according to marital status, sex and age.**(Figures in brackets indicate percentages)*

Material Status Age in years & sex	Not men- tioned	Un- married	Married	Widower & Widowed	Sepa- rated	Deserted	Divorced	Total
Male								
5-15	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	22
16-20	—	11	1	—	—	—	—	12
21-34	3	30	13	4	3	—	—	53
35-49	5	79	34	31	8	2	—	159
50 & above	9	39	30	97	3	1	1	180
Total	.. 17 (3.33)	181 (35.42)	78 (15.26)	132 (25.83)	14 (2.74)	3 (0.59)	1 (0.20)	426 (83.37)
Female								
5-15	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
16-20	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
21-34	—	—	9	6	1	1	—	17
35-49	—	2	9	15	2	—	—	28
50 & above	1	—	4	29	—	—	—	34
Total	.. 1 (0.19)	8 (1.57)	22 (4.31)	50 (9.78)	3 (0.59)	1 (0.19)	—	85 (16.63)
G. Total	.. 18 (3.52)	189 (36.99)	100 (19.57)	182 (35.61)	17 (3.33)	4 (0.78)	1 —	511 (100.00)

The age of the beggars in relation to begging has a special significance. In the age-group 5-15 years, there are only 22 child beggars; some are children of beggar parents and some are 'problem children' sliding into the profession. In the age group 16-20 years, the number falls significantly.

The buoyant young may find begging humiliating and try to find casual work some-where; in general they cannot expect public sympathy. In the

age group '50 & above', the number shoots up very high; this last is evidently due to improvident old age and handicaps.

The same trend is manifest among the female beggars.

Size and Mother Tongue. As the table 2 indicates, the sex ratio among the beggars is 1:5 i.e. 1 female to 5 male beggars.

TABLE No. 2.

*Distribution of Beggars according to sex and Mother tongue
(Percentage of beggars)*

Languages/Sex	Male	Female	Total
Hindi/Urdu	67.12	12.72	79.84
Punjabi	3.33	0.39	3.72
Bengali	0.59	0.58	1.17
Marathi	0.59	0.39	0.98
Gujrati	0.59	—	0.59
Tamil	7.43	1.96	9.39
Other Southern Languages	2.15	0.20	2.35
Others	0.98	0.39	1.37
Not mentioned	0.59	—	0.59
Total	83.37	16.63	100.00

As might be expected, 80% beggars in Meerut have their Mother tongue Hindi or Urdu. It shows that they belong to Hindi-speaking areas. 12% beggars are from South India, Tamil, Telegu and Kanada being their mother

tongues. South Indian beggars remain aloof from local beggars, as a matter of rule. They form a compact community in which there is a headman and they follow his guidance in all matters.

Home Province. It is noteworthy that out of the sample of 276 beggars to whom the query was addressed only 40% belong to Uttar Pradesh. 60% (i.e. 166) are immigrants from other States.

Causes of Leaving Home Province. There are varied causes why these vagrants left their home Province. 13% of the immigrants are wandering medicants. 3% are employment-seekers who out of frustration drifted into beggary. One beggar out of every five is a socially mal-adjusted individual who fled from some crisis in life. About 22% beggars are afflicted with a handicap or infirmity due to old age.

Health of the Vagrants. Table 3 shows that 64% beggars are able-bodied. Their place should be the Work House and not the streets.

The percentage of the blind is as high as 13%. A few of them are blind from birth. In most of the cases blindness is acquired. Blindness threatens to become a Public Health Problem. In the heart of winter, poor folks in the absence of enough warm covering, are forced to keep fire burning during the night, inside their ill-ventilated tenement. The smoke is imprisoned and does the mischief.

TABLE No. 3

Distribution of Beggars According to Health
(Figures in brackets indicate percentages)

No.	23	13	19	2	3	64	16	10	33	328	511
	(4.50)	(2.54)	(3.72)	(0.40)	0.59)	(12.52)	(3.13)	(1.96)	(6.45)	(64.19)	(100.00)
Leper											
Lame											
Maimed											
Deaf											
Dumb											
Blind											
Men-											
tally											
More											
than											
Others											
Able-											
Bodi-											
ed.											
Total											

About 5% of the beggar population are lepers. Leprosy is a serious menace to Public Health. The dreaded disease which was once endemic, is now assuming almost epidemic proportions. The problem should have top priority in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Table shows that 3% beggars are mentally defective. The percentage of the mentally defective is, in all probability, much higher. But in the

absence of any rigid definition of 'mentally defective' and in view of the wide range of mental aberration which comes in the wake of pauperism, it is hard to draw the dividing line between normalcy and defect. The task was harder because the investigators were not psychiatrically trained and the contact with the vagrant was all too brief.

Daily Income and Age. From the figures, it is found that two-thirds of

the beggar population earn upto Rs. 1/- per day. 12% beggars in the age group 21-49 years manage to tramp more and earn more, upto Rs. 2/- per day. 13% beggars above the age of 21 years earn to Rs. 3/- per day. Beggars of the age group '50 and above' can trudge less and earn less. The percentage for them is low in the categories of higher income.

Duration of Begging and Daily Income.

Table 4 brings to the fact that one-third of the beggars have been begging from very childhood. Generally these are the beggars who can earn upto Rs. 3/- per day ; of course the percentage of these is only 1%. A startling conclusion is inescapable : 14% individuals are new entrants into the begging profession within the last three years. I call attention of the authorities to this grim rend.

TABLE No. 4

*Distribution of Beggars according to duration of begging and daily income.
(Percentage of beggars)*

Duration/Income	Upto Rs. 1/-	Rs. 1/- to Rs. 2/-	Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/-	Above Rs. 3/-	Total
Less than 1 year	2.91	0.73	0.36	—	4.00
1 to 3 years	6.91	1.82	1.09	—	9.82
3 to 5 years	11.64	2.54	1.46	—	15.64
5 to 10 years	12.00	2.90	2.18	0.36	17.44
10 to 20 years	8.36	1.82	1.46	—	11.64
More than 20 years	4.36	2.55	1.46	—	8.37
From childhood	20.00	6.91	4.73	1.09	52.73
Non mentioned	0.36	—	—	—	0.36
Total	66.54	19.27	12.74	1.45	100.00

Expenditure on Certain Items. 61% male and 39% female beggars spend cash on clothes. It is presumed that others get their clothing in kind. 39% male beggars use narcotics. It is remarkable that 18% female beggars also use narcotics. Narcotics include 'Bhang', Opium, Liquor etc. 9% female beggars smoke 'biri'.

beggar amongst female beggars. There is something novel about the head-beggar. He takes daily contribution from beggars. Each head-beggar has some 50 beggars under him. He holds meetings on some days to discuss matters of common interest. He provides money to beggars when they are in need. The head-beggar also begs.

About 5% male beggars reported that they pay tips to the head-beggars. It seems that there is no patron or head-

Education. Table yields the following conclusion :— on the whole, 75% beggars are illiterate.

TABLE No. 5

Distribution of Beggars according to Education, sex and age.
(Percentage of Beggars)

Education	Sex & age in years	Male			Female			Total
		5-15	16 & above	Total	5-15	16 & above	Total	
Illiterate		4.11	54.40	58.51	0.78	15.46	16.24	74.75
Primary		0.20	21.52	21.72	—	0.39	0.39	22.11
Upto Matric		—	1.96	1.96	—	—	—	1.96
Higher		—	0.20	0.20	—	—	—	0.20
Not mentioned		—	0.98	0.98	—	—	—	0.98
Total	..	4.31	79.06	83.37	0.78	15.85	16.63	100.00

Separately considered, 70.18% male and 97.65% female beggars are illiterate. Regarding the male beggars, the following statistics stand out and tell their own tale. The percentage of beggars with primary education is 26.05% ; upto Matric 2.35% ; and Higher Education 1.17%.

One of the literates reported higher education and he was a spinning-master in a mill but as soon as a patch of leprosy was detected on his person, he was turned out of Service.

Immigration and Place of Sleep. Amongst the non-immigrants, 24% beggars

sleep in rented rooms. Out of immigrants, only 6% beggars sleep in rented rooms. As regards sleeping near shrines, the percentage both for immigrants and non-immigrants is practically the same. It implies the obvious fact that religious mendicants always prefer shrines. A large section of the beggars sleep in the Town-hall area and in the third-class passenger sheds of the city Railway Station.

Causes of Beggary. The Table No. 6 is, in point of fact, an "Appraisal Schedule". Beggary is an outcome of multiple causation. 276 beggars were asked to rank the causes in order of

TABLE No. 6

*Distribution of Beggars according to causes of Beggary as indicated by Beggars.
(Figures in Brackets indicate Scores or Weights)*

Causes	Rank of Causes					Total	Percentage of the Total
	I	II	III	IV	V		
Poverty.	54 (270)	73 (292)	19 (57)	4 (8)	1 (1)	151 (628)	27.42
Physical Handicap Improvi- dent old age.	80 (400)	27 (108)	7 (21)	..	..	114 (529)	23.09
Social Maladjustment.	38 (190)	34 (136)	11 (33)	2 (4)	..	85 (363)	15.84
Religious sentiments.	50 (250)	15 (60)	9 (27)	..	..	74 (337)	14.71
Loss of Agricultural employ- ment in village/flood or drought.	14 (70)	2 (8)	3 (9)	..	..	19	3.78
Leprosy.	7 (35)	5 (20)	..	..	..	12 (55)	2.40
Crippling diseases.	1 (5)	3 (12)	..	..	..	4 (17)	0.74
Mental deficiency.	2 (10)	..	2 (6)	..	..	4 (16)	0.70
Others.	30 (150)	19 (76)	11 (33)	..	..	60 (259)	11.32
Total	.. (1380)	276 (712)	178 (186)	6 (12)	1 (1)	523 (2291)	100.00

Quantitative scale of Rating.

gravity in the light of their past history. This qualitative attribute of "ranking" thus obtained, has been converted into quantitative measurement by an objective "scale of rating", in keeping with modern Socio-metric Methodology due to F.S. Chapin.

My scale of rating is analogous to 'Chapin scale'. The total scores or weights may be taken as a fair index of the socio-economic "situation" and as a comparable measure of the institutional behaviour'. In the Table, for assessing the relative importance of different ranking, weights 5,4,3,2,1 were given to ranks I, II, III, IV, V respectively. These comparable results are put in their proper perspective and are assessed in percentages in the last column, in descending order of magnitude.

Liking of Beggars and Maintenance in Beggar Home. The Table 7 (Page 76) is of special interest to the social worker. 45% beggars are not willing to go to a Beggar Home at any cost. 50% have expressed their willingness to be admitted to a Beggar Home.

Out of these 42% men and women do not like begging at all; 8% beggars declared that they cannot but like the profession of begging, because they eke out their living by it they are plait by nature and if they are given to understand what the Beggar Home is like, they will most readily come over (Col 4). Out of 45% beggars who are not in a mood to enter Beggar Home, 37% (Col. 7) seem to be habitual tramps, hardened in their profession, eager to protect their freedom of the street. Another small section of beggars (7.6%, Col. 6) maintain a seemingly paradoxical attitude. They do not like begging and yet are not willing to enter a Beggar Home. Their nature is conservative; they believe in the hackneyed half-truth 'Novelty

is injury'. Such people act only under compulsion of events.

Employability. The Table 8 (Page 77) yields information about employability. 54% beggars are quite employable. But out of these, 37% are viciously unwilling to work. The Government would have to take serious action against drones. They cannot be employed easily. Our suspicions have deepened that they include among their ranks petty thieves, cat-burglars and other criminal elements.

About 45% beggars are unemployable. However it can be said that most of them can perform light selected duties. These unemployables include handicapped beggars and aged persons.

Property and Its Annual Income. About 13% beggars are owners of property though the annual income is very low. Therefore, these individuals are compelled to leave the property in the custody of some members of the family and to move out in quest of food.

Impression of the Investigators. Investigators were asked to put on record their appraisal of the nature and temperament of the vagrants. 276 beggars exhibited the spirit of co-operation. By temperament, one beggar in every three is aggressive. The beggars coming from outside U.P. are generally very aggressive.

Past History Prior to Beggary. The Table 9 (Page 78) speaks for itself. Beggars belonged to the low-income group. They lived on the 'Poverty line'. About one-third of them were small craftsmen. One-fifth of them were in unprofitable agriculture.

TABLE No. 7

Distribution of Beggars according to Sex, Age, Liking of Beggary and Maintenance in Beggar Home.
(Percentage of Beggar.)

Choise age in years & Sex	Not Men- tion ed.	Ready to go to Govt. Public Home		Total 3 & 4	Not ready to go Govt. Public Home		Total 6 & 7	Total 2-5 & 8
		Do not like begging	Like begging		Do not like begging	Like begging		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Male</i>								
5-15	0.20	2.15	0.59	2.74	0.98	0.39	1.37	4.31
16-20	..	0.59	0.19	0.78	..	1.57	1.57	2.35
21-34	0.59	3.13	1.17	4.30	0.78	4.70	5.48	10.37
35 & above	2.93	27.79	4.31	32.10	4.89	26.42	31.31	66.34
Total ..	3.72	33.66	6.26	39.92	6.65	33.08	39.73	83.37
<i>Female</i>								
5-15	..	0.59	..	0.59	0.19	..	0.19	0.78
16-20	0.19	..	..	..	0.19	..	0.19	0.38
21-34	..	1.37	0.39	1.76	..	1.57	1.57	3.33
35 & above	0.79	6.45	1.57	8.02	0.59	2.74	3.33	12.14
Total ..	0.98	8.41	1.96	10.37	0.97	4.31	5.28	16.63
Grand Total : 4.70		42.07	8.22	50.29	7.62	37.39	45.01	100.00

TABLE No. 8

Distribution of Beggars According to Employability, Sex and Age.
(Figures in Brackets indicate percentages)

Employable		Employable		Unemploy- able	Not Mentioned	Total
Age in years & Sex.		Willing to work	Viciously unwilling to work			
<i>Male</i>						
5-15		15 (2.94)	5 (0.98)	2 (0.39)	—	22 (4.31)
16-34		12 (2.35)	31 (6.07)	20 (3.91)	2 (0.39)	65 (12.72)
35 & above		45 (8.80)	121 (23.68)	168 (32.88)	5 (0.98)	339 (66.34)
<hr/>						
Total	..	72 (14.9)	157 (30.73)	190 (37.18)	7 (1.37)	426 (83.33)
<hr/>						
<i>Female</i>						
5-15		3 (0.59)	1 (0.19)	—	—	4 (0.78)
16-34		5 (0.98)	10 (1.96)	4 (0.78)	—	19 (3.72)
35 & above		6 (1.17)	20 (3.91)	35 (6.85)	1 (0.20)	62 (12.13)
<hr/>						
Total	..	14 (2.74)	31 (6.06)	39 (7.63)	1 (0.20)	85 (16.63)
<hr/>						
Grand Total		86 (16.83)	188 (86.79)			
		274 (53.62)		229 (44.81)	8 (1.57)	511 (100.00)

TABLE No. 9

*Distribution of Beggars According to Past History Prior to Begging.**(Percentage of Beggars)*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Income</i>		
Occupation	Percentage	Income per month	Percentage
Agriculture	18.37		
Shop-keeping business	10.88	Below Rs. 50/-	51.34
Labour Rickshaw Puller	21.09		
Service	17.01	Rs. 51/- to 100/-	29.33
Electrician/Fitter/Cleaner	5.44		
Weaving etc.	6.80	Above Rs. 100/-	6.67
House Wife	4.08		
Spinning Master	0.68	Not Mentioned	12.66
Others	15.65	(In one case income goes upto Rs. 300/- per month)	

<i>Duration of the Occupation</i>		<i>Reasons of leaving Occupation</i>	
Duration	Percentage	Reasons	Percentage
Less than 5 years	6.67	Disease or Handicap	42.86
5-10 years	9.33	Social Mal-adjustment	21.09
10-15 years	11.33	Religious	12.93
Above 15 years	40.67	Old age	12.24
Not Mentioned	32.00	Discharge from Service	6.12
		Not Mentioned	4.76

They scratched a precarious living. 64% of them just slid into beggary at the onset of old age or handicap. Some were armymen who put in long service; the pity of it is that they met with accident and got no pension.

Patterns of Begging. The begging appeal runs the whole gamut of human feelings and weaknesses. Knowing that "life is a little 'lantern' between dark and dark" and banking on man's innate reliance on Grace Divine for the unpredictable years of his life, three-fourths of the begging fraternity secure their coppers by merely uttering blessing. Some 18% beggars appeal to the conservative nature of man by invoking hoary traditions, some beggars appeal to the sentiments of pity. Some who are cleverer than the rest think it fit to prepare a recipe which is a mixture of many modes.

Reflections on the Findings of the Survey.

Average Income per day. The average income both in cash and kind per day for a beggar:—

Male	Rs. 1/2/3
Female	Rs. -/14/-

The religious beggars are the best earners. The crippled beggars get the least. The public of Meerut contribute about Rs. 600/- per day. This averages to the tune of about two lakhs per year towards the feeding of 805 mouths.

Number of children. Out of the total numerical strength of 805, the number of children under 15, is 404 i.e., about 50%.

The future of beggar children. About 10% beggars expressed their wish that their

children should adopt their parental profession. But the over-whelming majority of them still want to save their sons and daughters from the clutches of beggary. 10% beggars reported that they have already put their wards to some vocational training, so that they might become employable.

Part-time Beggars. Part-time beggars are found to be 6.6%:—

Male	6%
Female	0.6%

In Meerut there are some tribal people; they, specially women folk, are part-time beggars. In Annand Swarup Dal Mills trust, beggar feeding is done on Sunday; 50% of the beggars fed there, are tribal beggars.

Religious Mendicants. Religious mendicants are:—18%.

Male	17.22%
Female	0.78%

Some of the Semi-religious beggars belong to one sect or other. A good number of beggars belong to 'Giri' sect. They are disciples of 'Giri-Baba' who resides in Bareilly. They send money to their 'Guru'. Some mendicants belong to 'Nath' sect with headquarters in Kurukshetra. Muslim beggars generally beg on Thursday and Fridays. They also receive some help from 'Takiyas' i.e. Muslim charitable Homes. There are five 'Takiyas' in Meerut. Hindu 'Sadabrats' are four in number in Meerut.

Knowledge of Languages. 35% beggars know a language other than their mother tongue. 2% reported that they know more than two languages (including English) besides their mother tongue.

Beggar Organization. An indirect question was asked "If two beggars fall out, who decides the dispute". Some beggars reported that their leader, or 'Guru' as the case might be, decides the issue. Sometimes the leader imposes a fine which may extend upto one or two days' income.

Homeless Children and Juvenile Delinquency:—

The Problem falls into four well-made divisions:—

- (1) Helpless orphans,
- (2) Physically and mentally handicapped children,
- (3) Mal-adjusted and problem children,
- and (4) Juvenile delinquents.

In India we are now face to face with a vast number of destitute children. The beggar underworld is a paradise for the unscrupulous, the exploiter and the profiteer. The children begotten in the beggar underworld are systematically trained by man and woman beggars in all manner of petty crimes as a main-stay for their old age. These children are potential criminals, waiting on the fence either to be reclaimed as a social being or to be degraded into criminality.

Similar problems arose in Japan with a juvenile delinquent population over 1,65,000 and to handle the problem, 8,000 child welfare centres manned by trained workers, were opened.

Our problem has taken a painful turn due to the dark doings of underground agencies. This is a volume of Inter-State traffic in children. It impinges powerfully on the crime situation. The culpable neglect of

these budding criminals of the future will act as boomerang. The society will be ill able to protect itself from the menace of such a throng of anti-social citizens. It will profoundly effect the social health, morale and the general run of culture in the country.

A piece of legislation is already on the anvil. A nation-wide Survey of unprotected children is an imperative necessity. From all canons of social justice it is a State responsibility.

They are foundlings; they come from famine-stricken areas; they would be found in railway trains, in brothels, in the vast net-work of so-called Rescue Home through out the country.

Family is the eternal school of social life. It is the pivot. Its influence on juvenile delinquency is incalculable. Normal home life is the best for children, for what they need is 'emotional security'. To him or her, father represents authority, law, social approval or disapproval and mother represents tenderness, love and affection; the child needs both. The sense of inadequacy, inferiority and of being unwanted is the greatest single cause for delinquency.

Curative Remedy. Placement in families should be our main objective. Wherever possible we should try to entrust homeless children to:—

- (1) Select families of cultivators,
- (2) Couples who are barren,
- (3) from locality to locality numerous educated women who remain unmarried,
- and (4) lastly to Institutions; these Homes will ultimately arrange for their employment and marriage.

Such institutions should be run on 'self Service' basis. This will reduce the working expenses. There should be a neat and planned programme of agriculture, horticulture, dairies, arts and crafts, so that the inmates may be converted from national liabilities to national assets.

Beggary and Crime.

Crime is as old as Society. Criminal is a pathological by-product of the Society itself. His behaviour is governed by pre-existing conditions. We cannot argue in vacuum about the theories of punishment, Retribution, Deterrence or Reformation. We need the barometer of the crime situation.

Crime proceeds from a chain of causes. Heredity, environment, social and economic factors, immigration problems, climatic and physical conditions, feeble-mindedness, insanity-temporary or periodic, alcoholism, drug-addiction, prostitution, war, partition of the country - all play their role. Merging into one another, they tend to produce the total dynamic effect of criminogenic situation.

The theory of born criminals fostered by the Italian School of criminology is loosing ground. It lacks the support of Scientific evidence. Environment is often mistaken for heredity e.g. Slum conditions breed sex criminals. It is a human problem of great moment. "The worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it." - J.S. Mill.

A new social philosophy is needed. The humanity should come to realize that there are gaps in our systems of thought. There are points of view from which a serious offence may be converted into a sanctioned performance. Hunger and vengeance generate motivity. In its ultimate essence,

the problem is mainly a psychological one.

We have to broaden our out-look. We have to re-shape the attitude of society and establish a new tradition based on service, courtesy and co-operation. We have to look for the innate self-respect of the beggar. As a great man has said 'Imprisonment is a crime which the Government commits to put down another crime.' We have to polarise the criminal elements. We need psychiatric services. Psychiatric social workers can do much in ridding the criminal vagrants of their deep inhibitions and strange complex. Attempts at reclamation should proceed apace.

Conclusion.

Our task is vast. We need a master plan with an integrated programme content for a multi-pronged drive against this hydraheaded problem. Let us dive deep and go to the root of the matter.

Human Touch. It is a human problem. It calls for a human approach with a healing touch.

True Help. The truest help we can render an afflicted person is not to take out the burden from him but to call out his best energy so that he may bear the burden himself. The technique of true help, therefore, must needs be different.

Child Vagrant. We have to save the decoyed, kidnapped, maladjusted and dis-inherited children from abuse, neglect, exploitation and moral hazard.

A complete list of children's Homes, Boarding Schools, Orphanages should be compiled. They should be converted

into 'Certified institutions' with some measure of control. Industrial magnates in the field of iron and steel, textiles and chemicals may be induced to set up children's Villa with facilities of lodging and vocational training to create skilled workers in their respective fields.

Policy of German Labour Schools. The policy, plan, programme and implementation should be on a broad basis of the German Labour Schools for children.

Able-bodied Vagrants. On a modest estimate there are 7 lakhs of able-bodied but work-shy, non-mendicant beggars in India. These are of weak and aimless character; they need the tonic of discipline, compulsion, work, recreation and human touch.

Beggar Colony. The beggar colony should comprise work-houses, where there would be a pre-assigned quantum of hard work; for 'the art of labour can only be acquired by labour.'

Wage System. Vagrants should be paid wages, commensurate with the quantity and quality of work, not as a largess but as a human right. Their earnings should be put to their credit. At the end of a given period, they

should be employed preferably in co-operative societies in some of the schemes giving permanent employment.

Partial self-sufficiency. The Vagrant Home can be partially self-sufficient. The establishment charges for cooking and washing can be nil, as vagrants themselves will do it. Weaving and tailoring sections can easily acquire some measure of self-sufficiency. The training for suitable Cottage industries will bring additional income in time.

Setting up Villages for Vagrants. The size of the problem being big, the Government should look for suitable sites and set up new villages with an eye to arable land, transport and sanitation. Vagrants should be put to clearing the land for cultivation, tree-planting and road-making. Workshop, manual training centres, rural welfare centres should be introduced by and by in a planned manner. Mobile Welfare teams and Mobile Dispensary should visit them periodically. Vagrants should be encouraged to set up "Panchayat" or "People's Court of Honour" for themselves.

This pioneering work should go ahead with a sense of urgency and crusading spirit.

DELINQUENCY : SICKNESS OR SIN ?

RICHARD V. McCANN,

Harper and Brothers Publishers, N. Y. 1957.

McCann has emphasised the role of church in the reduction and prevention of delinquency in a realistic manner. Realistic, because he has not failed to recognize the significance of those criminogenic factors which are of a social origin.

Our modern society is sick. It knows not what it is. Youth, from whose ranks more and more of our deviates seem to come, is encountering a variety of bafflements which are typical of the present day materialistic way of life. He is in search of a self.

The development of a self image depends largely on the nature of one's relationships and communication with others, particularly with the parents in the home during the early formative years of life, that is, during the adolescence and pre-adolescence periods. If these relationships are of a personal, intimate, adequate and warm nature, the growing child succeeds in developing a realistic self image or else not. This is what distinguishes the non-delinquent from the delinquent, though the distinction between the two is more of degree than of kind.

The delinquents self image is a distorted one. In other words, delinquents' "ideas about themselves, about persons or places or events that had meant something to them and about their plans for the future" seem to be limited, vague and unrealistic,

chiefly because parents are missing from their model structures. This absence of parents as models of life and conduct is attributable to the delinquents, inadequate relationships with the former, an inadequacy which makes the child feel ill at ease at home. The inability to feel loved and secure in the home incapacitates one "to be at home in a society in which adults have the dominating role." It being difficult to find effective substitutes of parents, the delinquents adopt wrong or distant guides or models of conduct. An inadequate and unrealistic self image, thus caused, is "the rickets of the personality, the yaws of the character". Evidently, delinquency is a sickness. It is a sin too. To be so sick.

The author stresses that it is not the material pressures or needs which motivate a delinquent as directly as a distorted or inadequate self image, the latter arising not necessarily from the former. It is the "Spiritual vacuum" which is at the root of an unrealistic image of self. The reasons for this spiritual hollowness are "preoccupation with self preservation", a "lack of sense of mission", "increasing anonymity" and freedom 'from' in the absence of freedom 'for', that is, not knowing how to recreate oneself in the increased amount of leisure time afforded us by modern technological developments. Further, a sick self within the sick society is "success oriented", characterized by "chronic acquisitiveness" as a result of which, it may be argued, even

minor or insignificant deprivations cause frustrations of a serious nature. This emotional insecurity causing frustrations may either be sublimated or expressed in various modes of withdrawal like mental illness, alcoholism and divorce, or through hostility and aggression.

Perfectly sensible. But it is a tragedy that the author after having recognized his society as sick, has failed to call for an overhauling of such a set up which distorts the image of the self. All he suggests is patch-work by the Church, the School and the Family towards the development of "social resistance" to crime. Strange, the sick treating the sick!

S. C. V.

The Psychology of Gambling.
Edmund Bergler. M. D.; Hill and Wang; New York, 1957.

The Gambler, says the author, is motivated by a "neurotic wish to lose". A paradox, of which fortunately the author is quite conscious, but is convinced of its validity. Gambling represents the revival of "infantile megalomania" and the gambler is a case of "psychic masochism", which makes one seek defeat and humiliation. The entire thesis is based on that master concept of "the unconscious."

But is it necessary that "the wish to lose" must be taken as an unconscious one? Is not "unconscious wish" a contradiction in terms? For to wish is to be conscious of that which is wished. May be, since it had to be proved, it has been proved (!)

The analysis lacks in originality. Perhaps, only a few Psychoanalysts have something original to say. It sounds magical and for that reason makes an interesting reading.

S. C. V.



ANNOUNCEMENT

For more than half a century the programme of improvement of prisons and care for prisoners had been undertaken in some form or other by Government in Uttar Pradesh. The nucleus of an organisation for the after-care of offenders was started as early as 1894. In 1938, during the regime of the Congress Ministry, both the set-up and the programme of penal care and treatment underwent fundamental changes. The old association was then renamed the United Provinces Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. The same year also saw the enactment of the First Offenders' Probation Act, the Borstal Act and the Prisoners' Release on Probation Act in Uttar Pradesh. The protection of the first young offenders who had to be rehabilitated outside the prisons and care for adult offenders after release demanded a net-work of organisation in the State. A large number of branches of the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society were established in the various districts. The Society also undertook educational and cultural programmes inside the prisons.

In 1950, the name of the organisation was again changed into the U. P. Crime Prevention Society, indicating a new emphasis towards constructive social work and uprooting of the social conditions and causes of delinquency, apart from the education and resocialization of offenders.

The Society's official organ "The Penal Reformer", a monthly journal, was started in 1939. Both the Society and the journal owed a great deal to the zeal and enthusiasm of the late Sri Rafi Ahmad Qidwai, then Home Minister, and the late Sri Gopi Nath Srivastava, then Parliamentary Secretary of the U. P. Government. In 1956 the journal was renamed "Probation India".

The shift of outlook from penal reform to probation service, and thence to social security and defence has marked both the prison administration of the State and scope of activity of the Society. Today the probation services are a part of the Governmental machinery, but their operational control vests in the Society. The Society, as it has spread out in the entire State, seeks to extend its range of activities into the entire field of social security and defence. Appropriately the journal is now republished under the new title, "The Indian Journal of Social Defence", with a renowned sociologist and educationist as its Editor. It is hoped that this scientific journal will contribute to bring the whole impact of modern social sciences and techniques on the social defence programmes and to educate public opinion in the reorientation of social and educational policy for dealing with man's social inadequacy and disorganisation that lead to crime.

N. C. CHATURVEDI

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